THE ALBERTA JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH

VOLUME XXXVI NUMBER 4 DECEMBER 1990

PUBLISHED BY
THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA • EDMONTON

THE ALBERTA JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH

Published in March, June, September, and December
by the Faculty of Education, University of Alberta

A quarterly journal devoted to the dissemination, criticism, interpretation, and encouragement of all forms of systematic enquiry into education and fields related to or associated with education.

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AJER gratefully acknowledges support from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, from the Alberta Advisory Committee for Educational Studies, and from the Office of Research Services, University of Alberta.

The subscription rate is $32.00 per year for individuals, $40.00 per year for institutions. Add $8.00 for delivery outside Canada. Single copies are $8.00 each. Subscriptions and sales in Canada will be charged 7% GST. Please make cheques payable to *The Alberta Journal of Educational Research*. Back issues are available; rates supplied on request. Claims for undelivered copies must be received within three months of publication.

Address all communications and manuscript submissions to *The Alberta Journal of Educational Research*, Faculty of Education, Publication Services, 4-116 Education North, University of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta, Canada, T6G 2G5.

SECOND CLASS MAIL REGISTRATION NUMBER 1436

Faculty of Education
University of Alberta

ISSN 0002-4805

The Alberta Journal of Educational Research

Volume XXXVI, Number 4 *December 1990*

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EDITORIAL

On Methodological Sects in Educational Research

In past editorials I have commented on the need to view educational phenomena from a variety of perspectives. Not long ago I was asked to speak to a group of graduate students on the subject of paradigms in educational research. I was one of a three-member panel invited to address the topic "Paradigms in Educational Research: Help or Hindrance?" (Readers will notice that there is a colon and a question mark in the title. The former ensured academic credibility, the latter promised—falsely as it turned out—an openness to new ideas). In preparing for the presentation, I had another look at Kuhn's (1970) *Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, glanced through three years of the *Educational Researcher*, resampled Scharnberg's (1984) little monograph *The Myth of Paradigm-shift, or How to Lie with Methodology*. Here are some of the thoughts that these activities stimulated.

No behavioral science has or has ever had a paradigm. A paradigm in the sense that Kuhn uses the term sets the entire research agenda. I cannot think of a time during this century when there has been *a* research agenda in education or in any other behavioral science. There are always several agendas in operation, although at different times some have been more powerful than others. What are often called paradigms in educational research are really *methodological sects*. A sect is a body of people adhering to a particular faith. Members of different sects see themselves and other sects in quite different ways. Some sects are ecumenical and view differences among methods as being various ways of finding common truth. Other sects are fundamentalist and see methodological differences as leading to different truths—some better than others. Some sects make great demands on their followers (ritual is important and members are disciplined for sins against the revealed method), others make few demands. Some sects have been around a long time; other sects are recent.

The membership in a sect is largely a matter of socialization, differential ability, politics, and inertia. The socialization usually takes place in graduate school, but there are some dramatic examples of rebirth at later times. Differential abilities encourage us to take different combinations of courses. These magnify and consolidate differences. In the broad field of education, proponents of new sects arrive on the scene like evangelists and convert a generation of new scholars to their view. Older scholars often have either too much momentum or too much inertia to adopt new ways.

Unless you are a tree (and may be called upon to sacrifice your life for the good of a research report), methodological sects are probably good for educational research. Ninety years of activity has only begun to raise our understanding of educational phenomena. The complexity of the problems and the limits of individual creativity encourage the view that educational researchers working in groups from a common base of understanding and

method are likely to have more time to devote to investigation and reflection than eclectic freelancers. The challenge is to find ways for the sects to influence each other while maintaining their own integrity. This is certainly a role for the "generic journal" of educational research.

The sects of educational research are based on method. As I edit this generic journal, I do so with the belief that the goals of educational research regardless of sect are to understand and to explain. Some of the central components are definitions, evidence, coherence, and credibility. Validity of method is not merely a matter of technique properly applied, it is an aid to credibility. Educational research is not value free. There seems to be a strong link between what is accepted as evidence and what is valued by the sect. Criticism is a key component to any line of research. It, and the anticipation of it, keep researchers honest. One role of criticism is to explore the value influences in inquiry. Another is to introduce alternative perspectives to the researcher. I view criticism and the review process as one of the services that *AJER* provides to the research community. It is intended to aid the cycle of integration, disintegration, and reintegration, not to quieten controversy and destroy motivation. Methodological differences are welcomed here, but the subscribers to *AJER* do not all share a common pool of methodological beliefs. To succeed in their communication task, contributors must take great care in responding to three important questions: What do I mean? How do I know? and Why is it important? A generic journal of educational research does not discriminate on the basis of the "sectual" preferences of its contributors.

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The Alberta Journal of Educational Research *Vol. XXXVI, No. 4, December 1990, 299-309*

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Issues in Education and Daily Living for Families of Children with Disabilities[1]

General Introduction

Having only 30 minutes to talk about almost a decade of my research risks trivializing the research. Therefore, I will not discuss the part of my McCalla research on identifying work skills and preferences, employer expectations and attitudes, and the employee-organizational climate match to improve chances of long-term, successful employment for persons with mental disabilities.

Following the instruction to make the presentation practical and applied, I have chosen to focus on the research basis for my McCalla book on families, particularly aspects of the research of direct relevance to educators and helping professionals.

Dr. John Goodlad, Director of the Center for Educational Renewal at the University of Washington, spoke here in early April (Goodlad, 1990). He made the point that, in faculties of education, we have made our research inaccessible to practitioners. He argues for a collaborative partnership between universities and the community, so that research is relevant to both. I have tried to reach that ideal in my research.

If a first principle of my research has been *collaboration* with my colleagues and my co-researchers, the parents, then a second principle has been practical relevance and social need. With that principle in mind let me talk about:

The Social Context of the Research

Current social and political attitudes and actions impact on individuals with disabilities and their families. To illustrate:

1. In 1987, the Alberta legislature proposed a new education act containing a clause which would have declared some individuals with severe disabilities to be *noneducable.* This would have denied their right to an education. Fortunately, strenuous lobbying efforts resulted in removal of that clause (Bisanz, Snart, Sobsey, & Wilgosh, 1988).
2. The relatively high incidence of physical and sexual abuse of persons with disabilities (Sobsey, 1989), both in institutions and in the community, is a cause for serious concern.
3. The current trend toward deinstitutionalization of individuals with severe disabilities, *without adequate social and community supports*, is resulting in denormalization of families (Pivato, 1986).

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4. The trend toward integrating students with disabilities into the regular classroom has serious implications for the teaching profession and for teacher education, because of failure to prepare all regular classroom teachers to teach children with special needs (Wilgosh & Yewchuk, 1982).
5. The goal of full integration into society of persons with disabilities is thwarted by lack of independent living alternatives for adults with disabilities, by negative employer attitudes toward hiring such individuals, and by high rates of unemployment for persons with disabilities due to inadequate vocational preparation (Fagan & Jenkins, 1989).

While individuals with disabilities may represent only about 10% of our Canadian population, we cannot ignore their plight.

Background and Procedures

Featherstone (1980), an educator and parent of a child with severe disabilities, made the following comment in support of qualitative research on families of children with special needs.

> Even if their findings were not buried in dusty monographs, professional writers too often adopt a style that submerges feelings and problems beneath a deluge of aggregated statistics. Perhaps their conclusions inform the vision of social psychologists; they rarely touch the lives of ordinary people struggling to understand their own marriages. (p. 93)

Ramey, Krauss, and Simeonsson (1989) commented on the increasing documentation of diversity in family adaptation for families with an atypical member. Family values, beliefs, social resources, and experiences significantly affect parenting stress and family adjustment. The authors acknowledged the need to combine both qualitative and quantitative research methods in studying families.

Although the research I am presenting today is qualitative in nature and I acknowledge Featherstone's concern, I strongly support the position of Ramey and her associates on the value of both quantitative and qualitative research in increasing our understanding of families with children who have special needs.

The experiences that have directly shaped this research can be traced back to the early 1980s when one of my students, Melody Barry, interviewed parents and teachers about vocational training for adolescents with mental disabilities. The teachers believed that the parents were unrealistic about the needs of their children and uninterested in their children's education. On the other hand, the parents were frustrated and angry about lack of communication and support from the teachers. Melody's master's thesis (Barry, 1983) concluded that, while there was a lack of communication between parents and teachers, both groups viewed the vocational needs of adolescents with mental disabilities in similar ways, a basis for parent-teacher cooperation and collaboration in the education of young people with special needs.

At about the same time, a major review was published by Gallagher, Beckman, and Cross (1983), identifying a shortage of knowledge and understanding on the part of professionals about families of children with disabilities. They called for research to focus on the family as the unit of study

and for a "families" focus in the training of teachers and other helping professionals.

From that starting point, it seemed important to talk to parents of children with disabilities, to learn more about their lives, how they have coped with raising children who have special needs, and about issues of greatest concern to them. I began to interview parents of children with special needs, and, over a number of years, worked with some of my students and colleagues to gather information from a number, now totalling over 80 families, of children with disabilities: learning disabilities, moderate intellectual impairments, severe disabilities, visual and hearing impairments. The children's ages ranged from preschool to the late adolescent years. While some of the families were single-parent families, the majority were two-parent homes. One or both parents participated in the interviews, at the parents' convenience. We asked them to tell their own story about being parents of a child with a disability, as they recalled their experiences. Therefore, the experiences may have been colored by subsequent events and the passage of time. However, we did not try to direct the parents' stories, allowing them to focus on what they thought was most important, assured of confidentiality of all personal identifying information.

Qualitative procedures (Becker, 1986; Colaizzi, 1978; Giorgi, 1975, 1985; Polkinghorne, 1983) were used to extract the major themes from the parent interview protocols. Input from different groups of families was analyzed by different researchers to eliminate bias in identifying themes. The themes were then verified with the co-researchers, that is, the parents.

I will describe briefly the six major themes common to the families regardless of the child's disability, using *typical* parent quotations to demonstrate some of the richness and variety within the themes. It is difficult to select only a few aspects from a large body of information. In fact, I hope I raise more questions than I answer to increase general awareness toward these families and their needs.

The Themes

Theme 1: Coping with the Knowledge of the Child's Disability

Some parents learned quickly about their child's disability because a physician identified the disability soon after birth. According to Glendinning (1983), parents may find it easier to come to terms with the disability when they find out early, because they can then set realistic expectations for their child. However, more often parents sensed that something was wrong long before they were told that they should be concerned. One mother recalled the day that she found out:

> The doctor came into my hospital room and said, "Your child is blind." He didn't even ask me to sit down so he could tell me some bad news. I wasn't impressed with his manner, and neither were the other mothers in the room. He was muttering words that were about six inches long, and I didn't understand what it was all about.

Many other parents told us how they found out in similar *insensitive* ways, including by telephone.

out and look for support systems and I think services should be easier to locate.

The families may need direct support and assistance with caregiving. They may also need emotional support from professionals and parent support groups to help them deal with personal and family stresses. Parents want to have a parent-professional partnership of open discussion with knowledgeable and caring professionals who take the time to listen to them.

Theme 3: Advocacy and Parent Initiative

Many of the parents believe that their child's educational and other opportunities have been determined through the parents' initiative and have a sense of mission, direction, or purpose as a by-product of their efforts to raise their child. This takes its toll on the family by taking yet more of the parents' time and energy. Two examples will illustrate the advocacy role:

> We have had to educate a lot of people. *Number one, teachers* must start listening to parents that are behind the kids. We live with these kids 24 hours a day, and we know them. My 10-year-old son is labeled "mentally handicapped." I have labels for my other children as well: my oldest child is labeled "gifted," and my seven-year-old is labeled "overweight." We're all labeled but don't just accept the labels; ask "Who is the person behind the label?"

***

> I really didn't know, when I became a mother, that I was supposed to be a warrior. I thought, "nurture," not "battle." Yet as I am talking, I am aware that I need to fight if I want things to change.

Theme 4: Parents Search for the Best Educational Opportunities

Parents believe strongly that an excellent teacher leads to school success for children with special needs, and that both the personal and professional qualities of the individual teacher are important to success:

> The teacher has done a tremendous job. She has unlimited patience and kids like Adam need patience. If she feels frustrated she never lets it show. She just keeps at it until it clicks for him. He can talk to her about anything and really feel comfortable; it's almost like having another mother at school.

Generally, parents appreciate honest and open feedback from teachers and want to be actively involved with the school. From a father:

> To educators, I would say, "Listen to the parents more. I think in most cases the parents know, but you have to be willing to listen."

Contrast the positive experience with these:

> They reluctantly took him into a regular class and said they would do some accommodating. Their idea of accommodating was to remove so many recesses over the years and made him stay in and do extra work that it was bizarre.

***

> We are out of date in our educational system, still hung up on labeling a child as handicapped. But labeling a child as mentally handicapped is not going to help us to develop an educational plan for the child. I think the local com-

> munity school is the most sensible school if you integrate, but the principal told me right from the beginning that schools were for regular kids, not for special needs kids. I decided that people in regular education are not prepared for special needs kids.

Children with disabilities have special needs which must be considered by the schools. Foremost, they need sensitive and competent teachers who can respond to each child's needs, who don't reject the child because of the disability and can work in cooperation with the parents. Parents feel angry and frustrated because of difficulty finding good programs. For some children, attending special programs requires long hours of travel. In other cases, programs may not exist because of high costs, or because teachers have not been trained to teach children with special needs:

> They require speech therapy and this is the thing they're not getting. The schools claim there's not enough money in the budget, but they're going into all these other languages in the school and yet they're not even teaching these kids to speak English.

Parents are divided on whether integration or special classes are good or bad depending on their personal experiences with either, as these contrasting examples show:

> They increased her resource room time and that turned out to be more disruptive than good for her. Presumably she is making some progress, but they take her out for 20 minutes and she comes back in and she's supposed to catch up with the other kids in the classroom. She said when she asked the other children what they were doing they would say, "Go away. You're just trying to copy," so she stopped asking.

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> Bob is only one year behind in some of his subjects and so the teachers are saying, "We really would like to put this child in a regular classroom soon." Bob has worked tremendously hard to get where he is. When he was told he might go into the regular social studies class, he was devastated. It's a whole different ball game to sort out the noise from 24 or 30 kids as opposed to 10 kids. He still can't copy from the board. I feel as if he's being punished because he's succeeded. They're not putting my kid in a regular classroom.

People writing about successful integration (e.g., Hanline & Halvorsen, 1989) say that it requires flexible teachers with positive attitudes and adequate training who keep up ongoing communication with the parents.

Some of the parents feel strongly that teacher education isn't doing a good job of preparing teachers to teach children with special needs. Here are some parents' viewpoints:

> There is such rampant ignorance. There's so much that teachers want to ignore. There is so much putting down of parents. Parents really know their kids. We do get overanxious but I don't think we should be put down for it. Four years of education, or six, or eight, just don't teach them anything about individuals.

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> I think the teachers are not generally qualified to deal with a learning disabled child in the classroom as integration requires. And I don't think it is good to take the children out temporarily and put them in a resource room with a special education teacher. But if regular class teachers are not equipped to diagnose the problem and to individualize instruction, then we have no choice but special classes.
>
> ***
>
> The teachers don't recognize learning problems so how can they deal with them. *Universities are not giving them the tools to work with children with handicaps*. I really feel that teachers should have an introduction to children with handicaps as part of their program at university. If you are looking at one in 10 children with a learning problem, I think the school system needs trained teachers to recognize and teach these kids.

Some parents have told us about very good experiences in schools, but more parents have had many poor experiences in the schools. They identify problems with both special and regular classes and poor teacher education as the causes.

Theme 5: The Family and the Child with Special Needs

Parents tell us that having a child with special needs has negative effects on family life because there is more stress on the family. Parents have responsibility for the child and for choosing services and education programs, and many parents feel guilty because this may leave less time and energy for other family relationships. However, there can also be strong positive effects on family life from the presence of a child with special needs.

The more severe the child's disability, the greater the demands seem to be on all family members, as in this example:

> You have to readjust your whole lifestyle around the schedule of the severely handicapped child. You can't go on holidays; you can't take him out to a lot of places. It not only affected my husband and me, but it also affected our relationship with our daughter and a lot of things she could and could not do. And we found that, when our younger son was learning how to walk, we had to say, "Be careful, you'll step on Carl." We were protecting Carl and at the same time restricting David. And with our daughter being older, a lot of responsibility fell on her from a very young age.

Family conflict was not the main focus for most of the families that we interviewed and was not mentioned by many families, who carry on as well as they can. Featherstone (1980) wrote that the child's disability amplifies problems in ordinary families and makes the parents more vulnerable to stress and conflict, particularly when they are feeling tired, afraid, or angry. She suggested that the parents may need help to disentangle their feelings about the disability from their feelings about their marriage, and that, although some marriages will fail, most will survive. She found parents to be unwilling to talk about marital conflicts, although some felt more free to talk after divorce. This may explain why so few parents talked to us about such conflicts.

Feelings of depression, loneliness and isolation, sadness, hopelessness, and guilt are common in such families, yet these families are basically normal families which show both successful and maladjusted behaviors, according to Yura (1987). Parents often express regret about the effects on their other children of having a child in the family who has a disability. However, it seems that most families function adequately, and the outcomes for the other children can range from very little effect to very positive or very negative effects (Yura, 1987). This example illustrates the positive aspects:

> Having a brother with a learning disability has taught his sister tolerance. In that respect it's added to the strength of our family life. The kids have gained values well beyond their years, that will stay with them forever.

Families with children who are disabled tend to be more isolated from their neighbors, relatives, and friends than are ordinary families, with the result that the child with a disability has little opportunity to develop important social skills and friendships. Isolation increases with adolescence (Yura, 1987). This is one important area where the children and their families need assistance. Teachers and other professionals must educate nonhandicapped children so that acceptance of, and friendships with, children who have special needs will develop naturally. Support groups and families must assist these children to develop hobbies and recreational interests so that they don't spend long, lonely hours alone watching television.

I want to make the point here that sexuality education rarely came up with our co-researchers, nor did the topic of physical and sexual abuse. Likely sexuality education was less important to these families at this time, given their other major concerns. Regarding physical and sexual abuse, and perhaps sexuality as well, the parents may not be able to discuss the issues, or the issues may not have touched this sample of parents.

Theme 6: What are the Future Prospects for the Child

For all children the ideal future likely is a successful, independent life. However, for children with a disability, the parents' dreams about the future may be quite different from this ideal. Parents may feel optimistic about adult independence for children with mild disabilities. On the other hand, parents worry about the work training, community employment, and independent living opportunities for children who have moderate to severe disabilities, particularly when the parents are too old to be the primary guardians for their children, as this example shows:

> Hopefully he'll be able to do a job that he will get paid for. I don't want him in a sheltered workshop, or an institution or activity center. I want him in the real world, doing real things with real people, living, learning, playing, working. I can't see far enough ahead to know if he will be able to live independently.

Conclusions and Implications

As indicated earlier, there are limitations to this type of research. Parents recall experiences selectively. Featherstone (1980) suggested that parents' reports tend to be biased toward the positive. Such problems as marital

conflict or sexual abuse may be too personal to share or may be outside of the experience of the families. The process of verifying the themes with the co-researchers does not get at aspects they have omitted. Their reports of sibling experiences and of experiences of persons with disabilities cannot replace direct study of the individuals' own experiences. Lack of control groups and small sample sizes can be criticisms of the research; however, there is a great deal of consistency among the families on the major themes, and the nature of many of their experiences is beyond those of the normal family.

Among the needs identified by the families is training for medical and other helping professionals and teachers to avoid the lack of sensitivity and lack of knowledge experienced. For example, it is important to recognize the ongoing nature of the stress and other feelings experienced by these families and the absence of stages of adjustment. Counseling them to expect to go through stages from grieving to acceptance is too pat an answer to their needs.

Many of the families show great strength in coping, but there is a need for adequate supports. The parents want to be accepted as partners in the task of providing for the development of each child's full potential.

Many of the parent comments on teaching and teacher education must be given serious consideration by educators. These parents have described the qualities of good teachers. They value teachers who show respect for the child and focus on the child, not on the disability. They also value teachers' qualities of patience and sensitivity, dedication, knowledge, and understanding of the needs of the child and family. Generally, the parents that we interviewed appreciate honest and open feedback from teachers and want to be actively involved with the school.

The parents have indicted teacher education for failing to prepare teachers to teach children with special needs. With integration becoming a reality in our schools, we cannot ignore the need to provide all student teachers with special education training, particularly in assessment and development of individual program plans, in classroom management, and in parent-professional relationships.

Note

1. This article is based on a presentation by the author at the conclusion of her year as a McCalla Research Professor in the Faculty of Education at the University of Alberta. The contributions of the following individuals at different stages of the research are acknowledged: graduate students—M. Hopchin (Barry, 1983); K. Waggoner (Waggoner, 1988); B. Adams (Adams, 1987); M. Morgan-Redshaw (Morgan, 1987); K. Hancock (Hancock, 1988); S. Chomicki; colleagues—M.A. Bibby, D. Sobsey, and L. McDonald; and co-researchers—the families whose collaboration made the research possible.

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The Alberta Journal of Educational Research *Vol. XXXVI, No. 4, December 1990, 311-323*

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Early School Entry and Subsequent Academic Problems

Learning impaired students and a comparable age and sex matched, normal-achieving control group (in grades 5-8) were categorized according to the time of the year of their birth. Those born in the last quarter of the year (October-December) and who started school early as indicated by school records were defined as early entry (EE) students. The groups were evaluated for incidence of EE students, achievement, and self-esteem. Results revealed (a) that the incidence of EE students was higher than expected in the group of learning impaired students, (b) that the academic achievement of EE students was low in the control group, and (c) self-esteem of the learning impaired was higher for EE students, but only for those who had not been formally labeled as learning disabled. Formal labeling may impact negatively on self-esteem. Alternatively, those learning impaired students who are not suffering from self-esteem problems may not be moved further along the identification process to be formally labeled as learning disabled. Those children who are moved further along in the identification and placement process tend to have lower self-esteem and be early entry students. Educational implications and recommendations are discussed.

School entry age is a variable that may inadvertently influence referral, diagnostic, and remedial practices in education. It is possible that children could be considered learning impaired when in fact they are merely young (i.e., chronologically immature). Such incorrectly identified academic difficulties could then contribute to self-esteem problems and to future academically related problems. Thus schools, though attempting to help, could actually be involved in causing additional academically related problems by teaching curriculum material prematurely to the normal but young child.

The research literature suggests that early school entry is a potentially serious problem in both *referral* practices and the *identification* of learning disabilities. For example, DiPasquale, Moule and Flewelling (1980) conducted a study of children *referred* for psychological assessment ($N=552$, in grades kindergarten through 13) in York County, Ontario. They noted an

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increased incidence of referrals for early entry students. Further analyses revealed that the effect was evident for the primary grades only, for males only, and for academic referrals rather than behavioral referrals. Primary teachers apparently perceive early-entry males as predisposed to learning problems.

Moreover, it seems that psychologists also may be attributing learning disorders to early school entry. In a study of children *identified* as learning disabled, mentally retarded, and emotionally disturbed, Maddux, Green and Horner (1986) reported that the total group of special education students (N=291), enrolled in grades 1-12, consisted of a disproportionately large number of children who were young when they entered school. The students were classified as early entry or late entry using 6.5 years as the youngest age to be identified as late entry. The expected frequencies (based on census data) of early and late entry children were compared with observed frequencies to determine if entry age was a chance variable. A chi-square analysis revealed observed and expected frequencies differed significantly with more early entry students in the sample of 291 special education students than expected. Separate chi-square analyses were computed for all categories and were significant for the learning disabled and emotionally disturbed groups but not for the mentally retarded. These results were consistent with earlier research (Maddux, 1983; Maddux, Stacy, & Scott, 1981) and supported the notion that early school entry may place certain children at risk.

Diamond (1981) conducted a similar study in a particular jurisdiction in Hawaii and found a relationship between the *identification* of learning disabled children and time of year of birth. The sample population of 118 referred children showed significantly more of the 42 boys identified as learning disabled were born later in the year (i.e., July-December), with similar results for the 17 girls identified as learning disabled.

In a more extensive study Diamond (1983) used a sample of 154,203 students. These students, between the ages of five and 20, were examined on such variables as sex, birth date, and handicapping condition. A significant relationship was found between the percentage of children born later in the year and those classified as learning disabled, with more learning disabled children born late in the year. Furthermore, maturity was not a factor that alleviated the problem in later years. Thus it would appear that early-entry-induced problems could persist into the upper elementary grades.

These studies would suggest that age is inadvertently affecting both referral and diagnostic practices with apparent *long-term* academic effects. Problems in the primary grades due to early entry may be actually generating subsequent real and long-term handicaps (Uphoff & Gilmore, 1985).

The question of specific long-term effects related to early entry is empirical. Both academic and self-esteem problems have been suggested as potentially relevant effects (Diamond, 1983; DiPasquale et al., 1980; Gredler, 1980). Accordingly, the focus in the present study was on (a) specific academic areas (i.e., reading, mathematics, and language) and (b) self-esteem.

On the basis of the existing research it was predicted (a) that the frequency of early entry students would be higher than expected (i.e., beyond a chance distribution) in a group of randomly selected learning impaired students, (b) that achievement levels would be lower in all academic areas for early entry students, and (c) that self-esteem would be diminished for early entry students.

Method

Subjects

The sample consisted of 108 students (in grades 5-8) who were chosen from five demographically similar (i.e., middle class) schools. The learning impaired group contained 54 students (38 males and 16 females; mean age=12.86 years; $SD=1.21$) and represented the older learning impaired students (i.e., the junior and intermediate level resource withdrawal classes) of the five schools. Older learning impaired students were the focus as we were interested in long-term effects. A control group was constructed using an identical sex distribution and a similar age distribution (mean age=12.60 years; $SD=1.15$). The control group was drawn from the same grades from the same five schools to ensure similar ages and socioeconomic backgrounds. To obtain a control group with a similar age distribution, classroom teachers (blind to the purpose of the study) matched the learning impaired students in their class with normal achieving classmates of comparable age. Although the matching procedure was less than precise, the groups were equivalent in terms of age, $t(106)=1.18$, $p>.2$. Moreover, the matching procedure managed to capture 17 early entry students in the control group which was confirmed subsequent to group formation. The learning impaired group was composed of (a) learning disabled students who had been identified and placed through a system-level Identification, Placement and Review Committee (IPRC) Process ($N=18$) and (b) children who had not been formally identified but were withdrawn for regular resource assistance on the basis of school-level identification processes ($N=36$). Preliminary tests indicated these two learning impaired subgroups were equivalent in terms of age, achievement, and self-esteem (see Table 1). Thus the learning impaired students were treated as one group initially.

Test Instruments

Achievement in reading, mathematics, and language was evaluated utilizing the *Canadian Achievement Test* (1981), a modified version of the California Achievement Test. All students in the sample had been administered the Canadian Achievement Test (CAT) in accordance with the board's administrative practices. Unfortunately, the reliabilities for the CAT are not readily available. However, Salvia and Ysselydke (1981) report evidence for very good reliability and validity data on the California version of the test. They indicate that for total scores internal consistency coefficients generally exceed .85, and test-retest reliabilities are generally greater than .90.

Self-esteem was determined using the Behavioral Academic Self-Esteem (BASE) rating scale (Coopersmith & Gilberts, 1982) which was administered and scored by school personnel. Teachers rate students on such scales as

Table 1
Identification Data on Age, Canadian Achievement Test (CAT) Grade Equivalent Scores and Behavioral and Academic Self-Esteem (BASE) Percentile Ratings for the System-Identified and the School-Identified Learning Impaired Students

	System-Identified		School-Identified	
Age	13.14	(1.27)	12.70	(1.17)
Canadian Achievement Test				
Language	2.43	(0.56)	2.69	(1.41)
Reading	2.19	(0.89)	2.60	(1.39)
Mathematics	3.13	(1.01)	3.32	(1.06)
BASE	36.56	(22.10)	41.13	(21.80)

Note: The two groups are equivalent on all measures at the .05 level.

Student Initiative, Social Attention, Success-Failure, Social Attraction, and Self-Confidence. The BASE was developed to establish construct and predictive validity measures of school success. This is a teacher-impression rating form and the limitations of teacher ratings are acknowledged (Foster & Ysseldyke, 1976; Greenwood & Morton, 1989). However, interrater reliability was estimated as moderately strong (r=.71) when different teachers were utilized. No substantial differences in the relationships across the sexes was noted, and the resulting reliabilities of BASE ratings were .83 for boys and .84 for girls (Coopersmith & Gilberts, 1982).

Procedure

Students were classified in terms of four entry-age levels. The year was divided into four quarters consisting of three months each and children were identified as belonging to one of the four quarters on the basis of their month of birth. All students born in the last quarter (October, November, December) formed the early entry group. These were the students who were four when they began formal schooling as confirmed by school records. All other students in the study were five when they began school. For grouping purposes the year was divided into four quarters rather than thirds or halves because our early entry students clearly fell into the last three months of the year. Frequency data were collected to determine the number of students born in each quarter of the year for the learning impaired and the control group. For the achievement test (CAT) the grade equivalent scores were analyzed first to provide rough estimates of the degree of lag due to any early entry effect. To determine relative standing, percentile scores (based on local norms determined by the test distributor) for three of the CAT subtests (language, reading, and mathematics) were collected for all students and analyzed. The BASE was administered with school personnel to evaluate each student's self-esteem.

Results

Frequency Data

The distribution of learning impaired subjects born in each of the four quarters was evaluated using a chi-square analysis on the Birth Quarter (first, second, third, fourth) frequencies. A significant difference was evident in the distribution, chi-square (3)=19.92, $p<.001$. As predicted, in the group of learning impaired children a high percentage (50%) were born in the last quarter of the year and were early entry students. In the comparison group also a large percentage of the children were born late in the year (69% in the last two quarters), chi-square (3)=9.55, $p<.05$. However, this would be an artifact of our attempts to match subjects on age. Frequencies are reported in Table 2.

Further analysis of the frequency data was undertaken after subtyping the learning impaired students into two groups (i.e., system-level identified and school-level identified). In the school-level identified group there was no significant early entry effect, chi-square (3)=5.58, $p>.1$. However, in the system-level identified learning impaired group there was a strong early entry effect, chi-square (3)=26.89, $p<.001$. As may be seen in Table 3 most of the students in the system-level identified group were born in the last quarter. Early entry in the learning impaired group seems to be influencing the system-level identification process.

Achievement Test Data

Grade Equivalent Scores. The means and standard deviations for the CAT grade equivalent scores are reported in Table 4. Analyses of variance

Table 2
Frequencies of Children Born in Each Quarter of the Year for the Learning Impaired Group and the Control Group

Time of Year of Birth	Learning Impaired	Control
First Quarter	6	12
Second Quarter	13	5
Third Quarter	8	20
Fourth Quarter	27	17

Table 3
Frequencies of School-Level-Identified and System-Level Identified Learning Impaired Children Born in Each Quarter of the Year

Time of Year of Birth	School-Level Identified	System-Level Identified
First Quarter	5	1
Second Quarter	12	2
Third Quarter	7	1
Fourth Quarter	14	14

(ANOVA) were computed for language, reading, and mathematics using Group (learning impaired, control) and Birth Quarter (first, second, third, fourth) as the independent variables. The sex distribution was insufficient to allow for sex to be entered as a third independent variable.

An early entry effect was noted for the Language test and the Reading test. On the Language test the ANOVA indicated a main effect for Group, $F(1, 99)=71.83$, $p<.001$, due to superior performance by the control group, and a two-way interaction for Group and Birth Quarter, $F(3, 99)=3.15$, $p<.05$. As may be seen in Figure 1 all students in the experimental group showed low performance with no differences between the various quarters ($p>.05$). Analysis of simple effects (Winer, 1971) indicated that the interaction was due to students in the control group who were born in the last quarter, that is early entry control students. They were performing lower than their peers born in the first quarter, $t(27)=2.22$, $p<.05$, the second quarter, $t(20)=2.77$, $p<.025$, and the third quarter, $t(35)=2.59$, $p<.025$. Interestingly, they were approximately two years behind their peers, yet teachers had not referred them for school-level or system-level identification and remedial assistance. Perhaps teachers look for a more egregious lag before referring students for remedial assistance. Also of interest, a subsequent analysis indicated there was no difference between the school-level identified (mean=2.56; $SD=0.55$) and the system-level identified (mean=2.47; $SD=0.65$) learning impaired born in the fourth quarter, $t(25)=0.39, p>.1$.

On the Reading test the ANOVA indicated a similar main effect for Group, $F(1, 99)=51.67, p<.001$, due to superior performance by the control group, and a two-way interaction for Group and Birth Quarter, $F(3,$

Table 4
Grade Equivalent Scores on the Subtests of the Canadian Achievement Test for Children Born in Each Quarter of the Year for the Learning Impaired Group and the Control Group

Subject	Time of Year of Birth	Learning Impaired Mean	Learning Impaired SD	Control Mean	Control SD
Language	1st Quarter	2.13	0.83	6.27	2.59
	2nd Quarter	2.62	0.55	7.42	3.17
	3rd Quarter	2.38	0.75	6.74	3.18
	4th Quarter	2.51	0.59	4.51	1.68
Reading	1st Quarter	2.02	0.79	5.73	1.56
	2nd Quarter	2.29	0.78	7.22	3.68
	3rd Quarter	2.69	1.37	5.58	2.88
	4th Quarter	2.48	1.38	3.99	1.42
Mathematics	1st Quarter	2.72	1.48	5.57	1.84
	2nd Quarter	3.42	1.20	5.78	0.61
	3rd Quarter	3.46	1.09	5.49	1.93
	4th Quarter	3.19	0.80	4.88	1.56

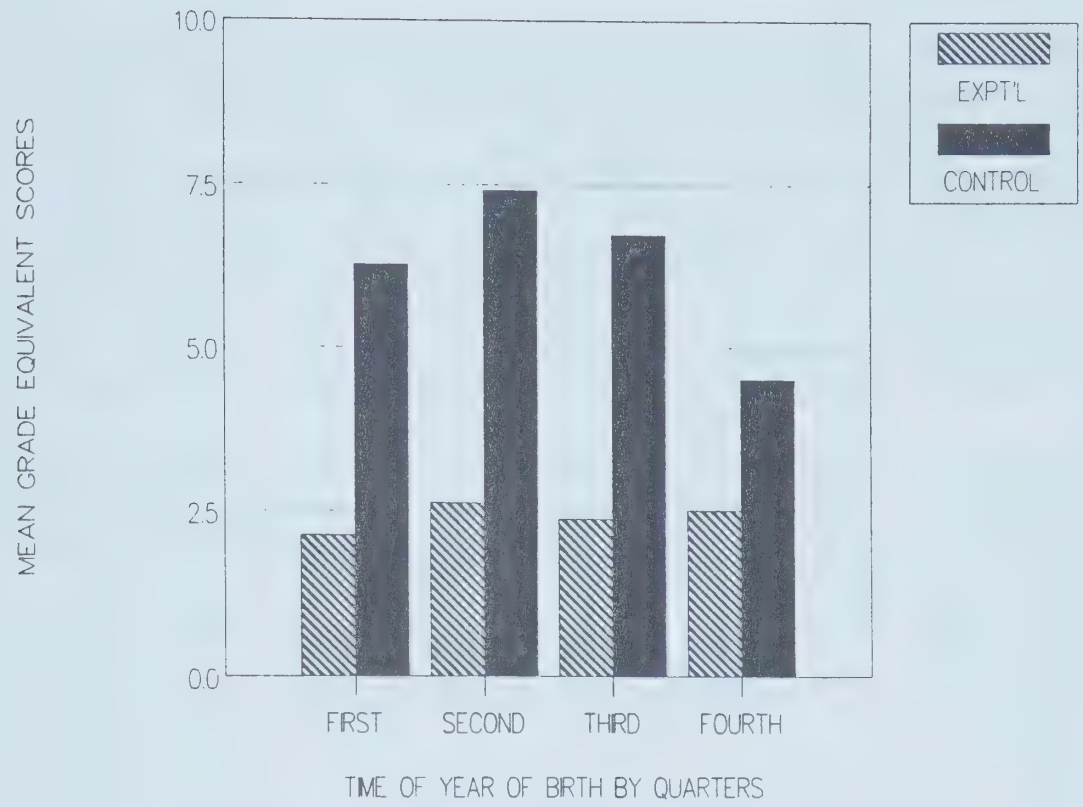

Figure 1. Grade equivalent scores on the Language test for the learning impaired and control groups for those born in each quarter of the year, showing the reduced performance for those born in the fourth quarter in the control group.

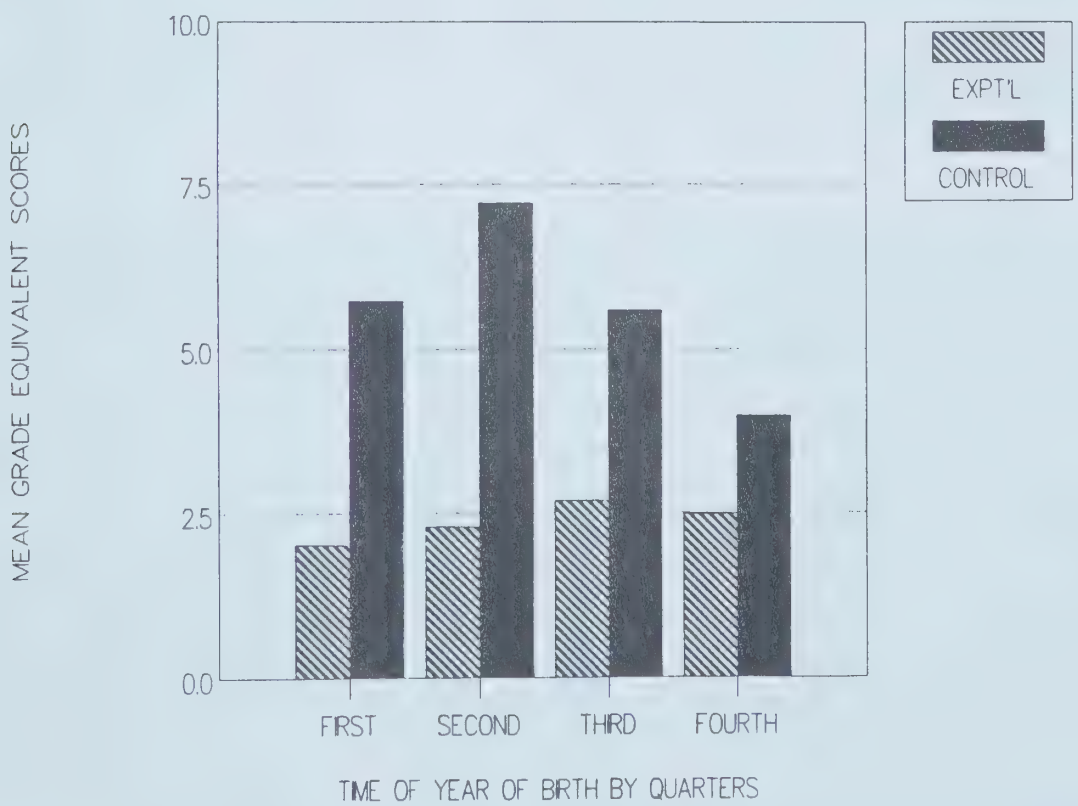

Figure 2. Grade equivalent scores on the Reading test for the learning impaired and control groups for those born in each quarter of the year, showing the reduced performance for those born in the fourth quarter in the control group.

99)=3.57, $p<.025$. Again early entry students in the control group were performing below their peers in the first quarter, $t(27)=3.10$, $p<.01$, the second quarter, $t(20)=3.05$, $p<.01$, and the third quarter, $t(35)=2.06$, $p<.05$. They were approximately 1.5 years behind their peers. Subsequent analysis indicated there was no difference between the school-level identified (mean=2.72; $SD=1.73$) and the system-level identified (mean=2.26; $SD=0.97$) learning impaired who were born in the fourth quarter, $t=(25)=0.73$, $p>.1$.

On the mathematics test no statistically significant early entry effect was evident.

Percentile Scores. The means and standard deviations for the CAT percentile scores based on local norms for each grade level are reported in Table 5. Two-way (Group by Birth Quarter) ANOVAs were computed for language, reading, and mathematics.

An early entry effect was noted for the Language test. The analysis of variance revealed main effects for Group, $F(1, 99)=142.51$, $p<.001$, and Birth Quarter, $F(3, 99)=3.36$, $p<.025$, which are qualified by a significant two-way interaction for Group and Birth Quarter, $F(3, 99)=2.85$, $p<.05$. As may be seen in Figure 3 all students in the experimental group showed low performance with no differences between the various quarters ($p>.05$). However, in the control group those born in the last quarter (i.e., early entry control students) were performing less well than students in the immediately preceding quarter (i.e., the third quarter), t $(35)=2.06$, $p<.05$, and students born in the first quarter, $t(27)=2.56$, $p<.025$. The detection of a statistically significant difference between early entry students and students born in the second quarter was precluded by the small sample size ($N=5$) for the second

Table 5
Percentile Ratings Using Local Norms on the Subtests of the Canadian Achievement Test for Children Born in Each Quarter of the Year for the Learning Impaired Group and the Control Group

Subject	Time of Year of Birth	Learning Impaired Mean	Learning Impaired SD	Control Mean	Control SD
Language	1st Quarter	6.17	6.18	59.75	19.39
	2nd Quarter	17.77	20.20	59.20	23.18
	3rd Quarter	7.00	6.30	62.10	23.70
	4th Quarter	9.23	7.62	41.06	19.39
Reading	1st Quarter	8.50	7.89	61.75	12.73
	2nd Quarter	17.23	19.80	71.20	27.93
	3rd Quarter	13.13	13.21	58.65	25.68
	4th Quarter	15.77	18.49	47.18	25.28
Mathematics	1st Quarter	7.33	12.26	61.33	24.62
	2nd Quarter	17.00	19.62	61.20	25.17
	3rd Quarter	11.50	11.19	65.55	20.25
	4th Quarter	14.08	13.02	52.00	25.10

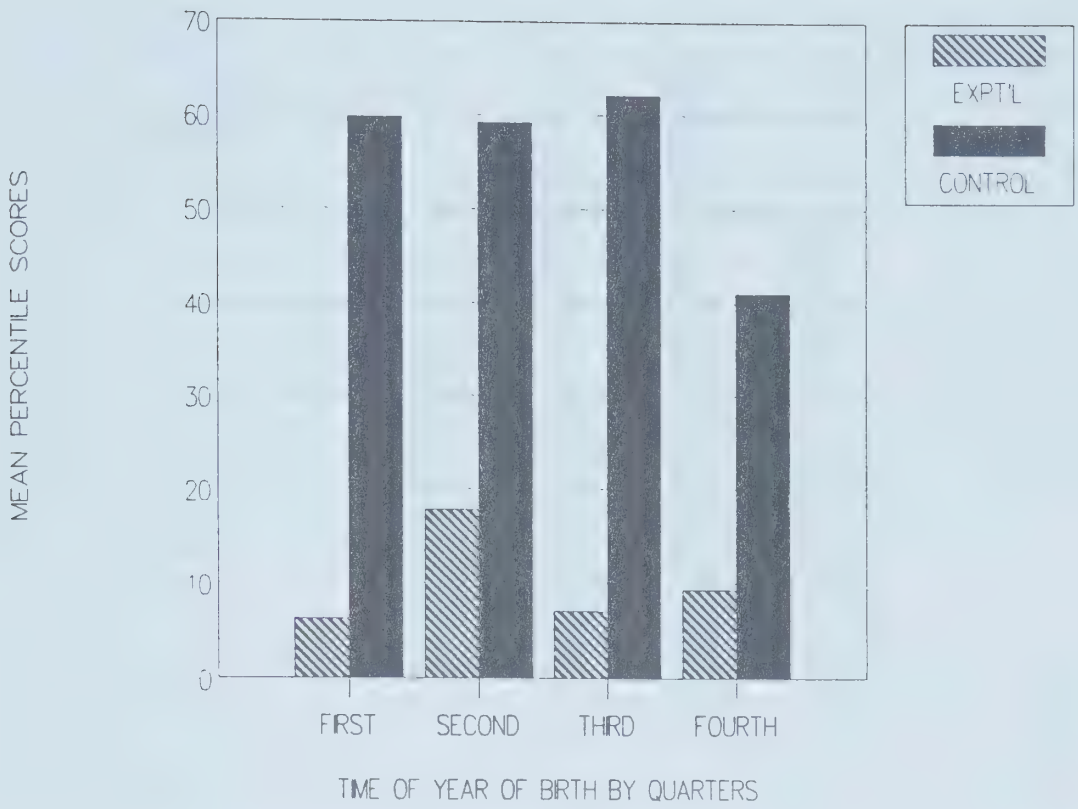

Figure 3. Language percentile scores for the learning impaired and control groups for those born in each quarter of the year, showing the reduced performance for those born in the fourth quarter in the control group.

quarter students. On the analyses for reading and mathematics, Birth Quarter was not a significant factor using local percentile scores.

Self-Esteem Data

The means and standard deviations for the BASE ratings are reported in Table 6. The two-way (Group by Birth Quarter) ANOVA revealed no main effects but there was a Group by Birth Quarter two-way interaction, F (3, 99)=4.57, $p<.01$. Simple effects tests (Winer, 1971) indicated group differences in the first three birth quarters ($p<.05$) but not in the fourth quarter ($p>.05$). Furthermore, although there appear to be differences in the control group between quarters (see Figure 4) the simple effects tests revealed that in the control group there were no differences in ratings between subjects in each quarter ($p>.05$). However, in the learning impaired group students born in the fourth quarter (i.e., early entry students) received significantly higher ratings than students born in the first quarter, $t(31)=2.19$, $p<.05$, students born in the second quarter, $t(38)=2.13$, $p<.05$, and students born in the third quarter, $t(33)=2.14$, $p<.05$. This interaction effect is presented graphically in Figure 4.

Further analysis of the self-esteem ratings for the system-level identified and school-level identified learning impaired students who were born in the fourth quarter indicated that the school-level identified learning impaired

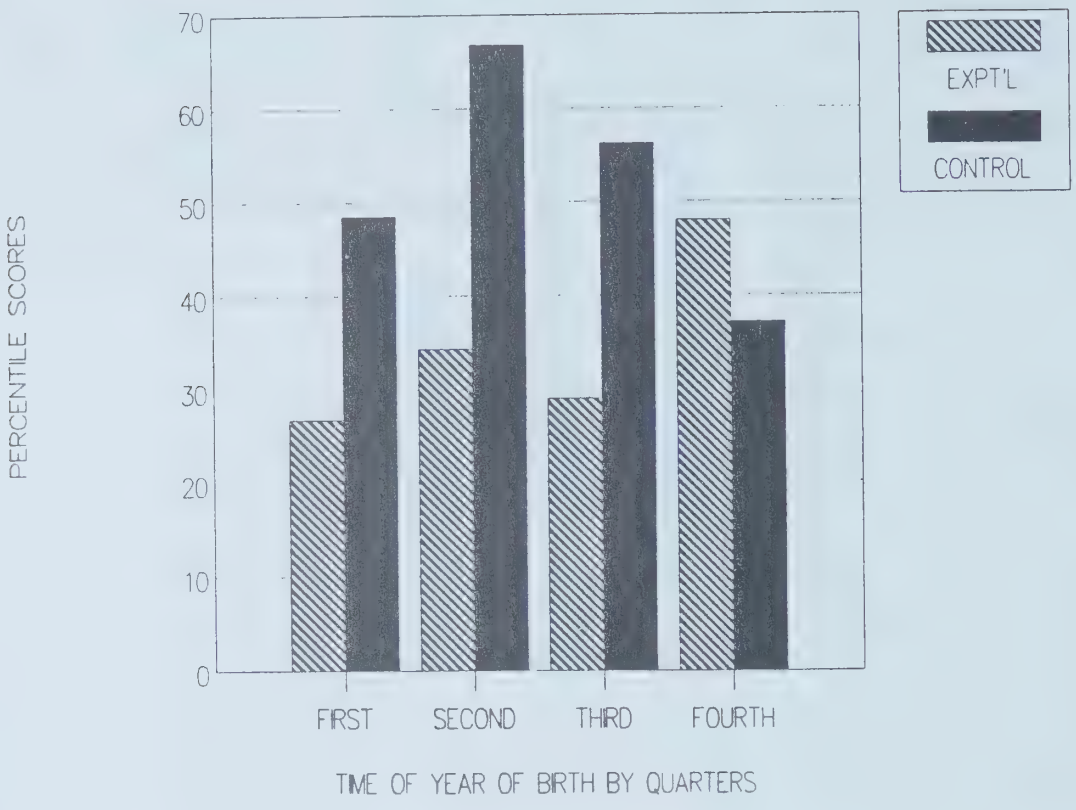

Figure 4. BASE rating percentile scores for the learning impaired and control groups for those born in each quarter of the year, showing the higher ratings for early entry learning impaired students.

Table 6
BASE Percentile Ratings of Children Born in Each Quarter of the Year for the Learning Impaired Group and the Control Group

Time of Year of Birth	Learning Impaired Mean	SD	Control Mean	SD
First Quarter	26.8	10.9	48.5	29.6
Second Quarter	34.3	16.8	66.8	27.6
Third Quarter	29.0	18.1	56.2	28.8
Fourth Quarter	48.0	22.9	37.2	33.0

had higher esteem ratings (mean=60.92; SD=14.43) than the system-level identified learning impaired (mean=36.00; SD=23.22), $t(25)=3.32$, $p<.01$.

Discussion

Incidence

The findings revealed a high frequency of early entry students in the learning impaired group supporting the prediction that early entry students are at risk of being labeled as learning impaired. In fact, 50% of the students in the learning impaired group were born in the last quarter of the year. Such a finding is consistent with previous research (Diamond, 1983; DiPasquale et

al., 1980; Maddux et al., 1986) reporting a higher incidence of early entry students amongst those referred for psychoeducational evaluation and those identified as learning impaired. In the present study the subsequent analyses indicated that the effect was evident for the system-level identified rather than the school-level identified learning impaired. This indicates that many children targeted for remedial assistance and then referred on for formal identification are in fact early entry students.

Because the learning difficulties of early entry students may be a function of age rather than some specific disorder, remedial interventions may not be the most appropriate. Alternate interventions such as (a) curriculum reductions, (b) the insertion of another year in the primary division, (c) double entry dates, and (d) delayed entry might be more appropriate. Moreover, the question concerning what would be the best intervention is considered to be a timely question in terms of current Canadian educational concerns.

Achievement

When grade equivalent scores were used to provide estimates of actual performance levels, an early entry effect was evident for both language and reading, with students born in the fourth quarter showing significant performance lags. However, the effect was noted on the control group, not the learning impaired group. Possibly a floor effect obscured differences in the learning impaired group as all of the learning impaired were showing poor academic performance.

The depressed performance in the control group suggests an overall general language delay is more prevalent with early entry students. Thus general and persistent language related problems may be typical of early entry even after five or more years of schooling, supporting Diamond's (1983) contention that the problems are not ameliorated with time.

Self-Esteem

A particularly salient finding emerged from the self-esteem data. In the learning impaired group it was noted that the early entry learning impaired students (i.e., those born in the fourth quarter) received higher BASE ratings than the regular entry learning impaired students. It appeared that early entry students were not suffering from the same self-esteem problems that characterized the regular entry learning impaired. However, when the findings for the system-level identified and the school-level identified learning impaired early entry students were compared, it was evident that it was the school-level identified learning impaired who had the higher self-esteem ratings. The system-level identified learning impaired had lower self-esteem ratings. Perhaps being labeled as learning disabled contributes to self-esteem problems in early entry children. Alternatively, it is the students with self-esteem problems in addition to academic problems who are referred on to the system-level identification, placement, and review process. Clarification of the relationship between self-esteem, referral, and labeling should be carefully addressed in future research.

The low self-esteem ratings for the learning impaired regular entry students and the system-level identified learning impaired early entry students

suggest that the learning impaired generally have serious self-esteem problems in addition to academic problems. In view of the potentially detrimental effect of low self-esteem, this area should be a primary focus in remedial programs.

Limitations in the present study relate to the small sample size in each of the four quarters, the subjectivity in BASE ratings, and the quality of the standardized test (i.e., the CAT). In addition, although we were looking for long-term effects of early entry, there are grade limitations in the study (i.e., the use of grades 5 to 8 while excluding the primary grades). The effect of early admission may be more pronounced in the primary grades. For example, it has been noted by Maddux et al. (1986) that the disadvantage of early entry becomes progressively less important as children move through the grades although Diamond (1983) does not concur. A more comprehensive study should address all grade levels.

Regardless of the limitations, the present findings clearly indicate that there is an abnormally high incidence of early entry students in groups targeted as learning impaired, and many of these students are referred on for system-level evaluations, possibly on the basis of problems related to self-esteem. Furthermore, even children who are not identified as learning impaired—yet are early entry students—show language related delays that appear to persist into the upper grades of the elementary school setting. Perhaps the most intriguing finding, however, relates to self-esteem. In the group of children identified as learning impaired those who were early entry students and manifested lowered self-esteem tended to be formally identified as learning disabled, whereas those who did not appear to be suffering from reduced self-esteem remained as school-level identified learning impaired students. Further exploration of this self-esteem difference in the identification process would appear to be warranted. It may be that referral practices are also under the influence of perceived problems in self-esteem, at least for early entry students.

Finally, the present research supports the contention that ways to ameliorate the early entry effect are needed. Thus future research should address the viability and efficacy of solutions such as delayed entry, double entry dates, extended primary programs, and individualized programming.

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The Alberta Journal of Educational Research *Vol. XXXVI, No. 4, December 1990, 325-336*

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Student Dropouts and Scheduling Patterns in Secondary Schools: An Exploratory Study[1,2]

This empirical, archival study investigated the relationship between dropout rates and secondary school scheduling patterns in a purposive sample of Ontario public school boards using pairs of schools matched on internal and external environmental conditions. The scheduling patterns compared were full-credit half-year semestered schools and full-credit full-year traditionally organized schools. One plausible rival explanation for differences in dropout rates was measured and found to be significantly related to dropping out. A statistically significant relationship was found between dropout rates and scheduling patterns but, when the relationship was examined controlling for the academic-level of a student's program, an interactive effect was revealed. If dropout rates are a measure of school effectiveness, it might appear that one form of scheduling contributes more effectively than the other to keeping certain types of students in school.

Dropouts are attracting increased attention from the Ministry of Education and from Boards of Education in Ontario as the relevance of education comes under close scrutiny. Radwanski (1987) wrote: "It is therefore the finding of this [his] study that the high school dropout rate in Ontario, as precisely as it can usefully be identified, is between 31 and 33 per cent" (p. 70). Citing other studies, Radwanski listed factors related to dropping out, namely, socio-economic status, family structure, high school streams, academic performance, part-time work, ethnic background, and psychological characteristics. General causes of dropping out were reported to be school-related reasons, which outweighed work-related reasons which outweighed personal reasons. He claimed the importance of school-related reasons might be understated because citing some other reason for dropping out implied that *school* was not attractive or satisfying; school factors were implicit in *any* decision to drop out. Specific school-related reasons were general dislike, lack of interest, boredom or (ir)relevance, academic weakness or difficulties, systemic rejection, and perceived indifference among educators. Radwanski's report implied that schools were not being effective in meeting students' needs.

Using dropout rates as a measure of school effectiveness has been supported empirically. Rutter (1983) wrote: "whether or not they [students] continue in some form of education after reaching the end of compulsory

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schooling ... has been used as a school outcome measure in several studies of school effectiveness" (p. 11), and Squires, Huitt, and Segars (1983) report the use of dropout rates as outcome measures of school effectiveness (p. 48).

A major change in school scheduling patterns has been occurring throughout Ontario during the last two decades; namely, a widespread shift to the semestered pattern of scheduling schools. "About one-third of Ontario's 597 secondary schools were operating on the semester system during the school year 1981-82 compared with only 24 schools ten years earlier" (Raphael, Wahlstrom, & McLean, 1986, p. 36). By 1986, that fraction had grown to over two thirds (Ministry of Education, 1986) and now likely exceeds three quarters. The incidence of semestering in Ontario varies regionally, with northern regions having higher semestering rates than southern regions.

The scheduling pattern in a secondary school—either full-credit full-year courses (*traditional scheduling*) or full-credit half-year courses (*semestered scheduling*)—could influence many aspects of teaching and learning. Purkey and Smith (1982) view school systems "as 'nested layers' in which each organizational level sets the context and defines the boundaries for the layer below" (p. 64). School characteristics affect classrooms; scheduling patterns are school-level phenomena. Ross (1977) reported that "the popularity of semestering is founded on the belief that this organizational change makes a positive contribution to the emotional, social, and cognitive growth of students" (p. 23). School characteristics affect learning. Raphael et al. (1986) reported that the benefits of semestering over traditional scheduling patterns included opportunities for (a) greater flexibility in course offerings and selection, (b) student acceleration, (c) more varied pedagogy, and (d) improved student study habits, motivation, and achievement. Many of those claims by Ross (1977) and Raphael et al. (1986) must yet be validated, and semestering—and any unintended consequences it seems—has been implemented with few questions being asked. King, Clements, Enns, Lockerbie, and Warren (1975), however, reported that a number of small-scale studies showed that students and teachers who had experienced semestering were more supportive of it than opposed to it.

The reasons why students drop out of school, as reported by Radwanski (1987), were numerous. Dropouts generally either disliked or were not satisfied with schooling that had not been effective in reaching them. King (1986) reported a relationship between student "academic stream" and general satisfaction with school; the more academic the stream, the greater the satisfaction. A later study by King, Warren, Michalski, and Peart (1988) revealed significantly different dropout rates across Ontario's academic streams: academic-level students (university, college, or workbound) made up 12%; general-level students (college or workbound) made up 75%; and basic-level students (workbound) made up 7% of dropouts (p. 17). Schools appeared to differ in their effectiveness in reaching different groups of students.

Discussions on the efficacy of semestered versus traditional scheduling took place in 1989 in one large eastern Ontario school board as school operations, student retention, and enrollment trends were examined. Board

staff were concerned about retaining students; students, however, will only remain in school if schooling effectively meets their needs (King, 1986). One issue that emerged was: Were dropout rates and school scheduling related? If school-related factors were primary factors in students dropping out, and if differences in opportunity actually existed between semestered and traditionally scheduled schools, differences created by scheduling patterns might be related to students dropping out of high school. For example, longer class periods but shorter course duration in semestered schools might create pressures that contribute to students dropping out. Conversely, shorter periods but extended course duration in traditional schools might create other pressures that contribute to dropping out. The question of dropouts and school scheduling patterns appeared worthy of investigation.

Literature on dropouts and scheduling patterns was limited. An ERIC search yielded five references on that relationship, two of which dealt with changing school schedules as a means, in part, of reducing dropout rates (Gifford, 1987; Young, 1986). Another search on dropouts in ONTERIS (Ontario Educational Resources Information Service) yielded 13 citations, none of which related to school scheduling. Correlates of effective schools—which could be related to outcome measures such as dropout rates, grades, college entrance rates, and achievement and test scores—were reported by Edmonds (1982), Rutter (1983), and Squires et al. (1983). Those correlates included degrees of academic emphasis, skills of teachers, teachers' actions in lessons, rewards and punishments, pupil conditions, responsibility and participation, and staff organization (Squires et al., 1983, p. 56). Squires et al., in citing Coleman et al., 1966, reported that socioeconomic status and student attitudes showed the strongest relationship to achievement (1983, pp. 48-49). Relating school effectiveness or conditions to dropout rates—an outcome—would be complex.

Investigating the relationship between scheduling patterns and dropout rates seemed worthwhile. Several correlates of effective schools (skills of teachers, teachers' actions in lessons, and staff organization) were likely nested in classrooms—to a greater or lesser degree—through a school's scheduling pattern (King et al., 1975; Purkey & Smith, 1982). Do schools, or their scheduling patterns, make a difference?

Purpose

The study was prompted by (a) the author's interest in differences between semestered and traditional schools (Sharman, 1989) and (b) by the general perception that dropout rates were higher in semestered schools than in traditional ones. That perception was worthy of empirical study, especially in light of findings reported by King et al. (1975): Those who had experienced semestering were more supportive of it than opposed to it.

The study was supported by the provincial office of the Ontario Secondary School Teachers' Federation. The purpose was to determine if dropout rates were related to schools being semestered or not. More specifically, the research problem was: Is there a relationship between scheduling patterns and dropout rates controlling for the academic-level of students, and controlling—through matched sampling—for differences in environmental condi-

tions? Such information could also be useful to school and board administrators. If a relationship was found, schools and boards would have acquired a focus on a potential cause of dropping out, and further study could be directed at school characteristics affected by scheduling to isolate reasons for students dropping out. Further study would be essential; reliance on the findings of one, or a few, correlational study(ies) as a base for any action would be inappropriate.[3]

Method

The study was conceived as Design 3 (Campbell & Stanley, 1963) using data gathered through unobtrusive measures from archival sources. The limited source of data chosen to carry the variables—student records—precluded a complex study of effective school characteristics relative to an outcome variable.

Three research questions were asked:

1. Was there a relationship between school scheduling patterns and dropout rates?
2. Was there a relationship between student academic level and dropout rates? The relationship reported by King et al. (1988) concerning dropout rates and academic-level was worthy of further study; was the relationship replicated, and were there relationships *within academic levels* between school scheduling patterns and dropout rates? In other words, did school scheduling patterns affect all academic levels of students the same way?
3. Was there a relationship between school scheduling patterns and dropout rates within (controlling for) student academic levels?

Definitions

Students were classified by their *enrollment status*. A *dropout* was defined in this study as any student who leaves school before having obtained his or her Secondary School Graduation Diploma or his or her Ontario Secondary School Diploma and who either (a) reported he or she was withdrawing to employment or (b) the reason for his or her withdrawal was unknown. Thus a student known to be moving to another province or country, or transferring to another school was not considered a dropout.

Scheduling pattern was defined as the form of scheduling used in a school. In this study, two types of schedule were recognized:

1. *traditional* schools employing full-credit full-year organization that typically allowed 8 or 9 courses to be taken throughout the year;
2. *semestered* schools employing full-credit half-year organization that typically allowed 4 (perhaps 5) courses to be taken each half year.

Other possible scheduling patterns included (a) half-credit, half-year organization and (b) trimestered organization, but no Ontario secondary schools used such patterns exclusively across all grades (9-13) (Ministry of Education, 1987).

Academic level, which might reflect high school streams, was defined as the average level of difficulty at which a grade 10 student took his or her

compulsory courses. Those compulsory courses were restricted to four of English, mathematics, science, and history or geography.

Sampling

A nonprobability (purposive) sample of Ontario public school boards was drawn. The criterion for selection was that a board contained both semestered and traditionally scheduled high schools (Ministry of Education, 1986). Nineteen public school boards—of 78 public school boards—met that criterion; almost all northern Ontario and most rural boards were excluded. Seven boards agreed to participate, six declined for logistical reasons (either data were not easily gathered or all schools were now semestered), and six boards declined for other reasons or did not respond.

The literature indicated a number of attribute variables were related to dropouts. Socioeconomic status, family characteristics, size of school, type of program in school, and economic opportunities in the region were rated as important factors. Each participating board was asked to provide *pairs* of schools—semestered and non-semestered—matched on location, general socioeconomic equivalence of community, size of school, and type of programs offered. In that way, the sources of subjects (schools) and the students in them would be "equalized" or *matched* on important plausible rival explanations that could relate to dropping out. The closeness of match of schools and their environments was not directly verified, but the data sources contained pairs of schools from the same cities, pairs of comprehensive high schools, a pair of rural schools, and pairs of high schools with French Immersion programs.

A census of students (data) with entry dates into grade 10 between September 1 and November 30, 1986 was taken. That group was chosen because they would likely experience the same organizational characteristics throughout their schooling, and that group could be followed for three years to June 1989—the year in which, under OS:IS (Ontario Schools: Intermediate and Senior; Ministry of Education, 1983) a circular defining school organization) they could first graduate. Those students had had sufficient time to change the level of their courses if inappropriate academic levels had been chosen in grade 9. Taking that one cohort, rather than analyzing the dropout patterns for one year, avoided including students who may have "dropped in" to an unfamiliar scheduling pattern late in their schooling. Such students could experience adjustment problems in general rather than just problems associated with a scheduling pattern.

Data Collection and Coding

Data were collected during July, August, and September after all 1989 course and enrollment data had been updated to reflect the 1989 year. They were gathered unobtrusively through a computer program developed by the author and sent to each board for use in its centralized data bank. Two of the boards did not have centralized banks and found data were too hard to gather; they did not ultimately participate in the study.

The quality of the information received concerning students undoubtedly depended on (a) the quality of information supplied by students on

withdrawal from school, (b) the quality of a school's information gathering system, or (c) on the quality of data entry into the system. It would be improbable—although not impossible—that a systematic bias in data quality would exist between the two groups of schools. Errors associated with data would likely be random relative to scheduling pattern.

Data were gathered and coded for the following variables: (a) board; (b) school; (c) student code; (d) school scheduling type; (e) sex of student; (f) student enrollment status by the end of [1] second year, [2] third year, and [3] fourth year in secondary school; (g) the academic level of a student's grade 10 compulsory courses; and (h) a student's accumulated credits through June 1989. For (f) above, *enrollment status* was classified as (1) returning to school, (2) dropped out, (3) graduated, or (4) transferred. The value for *enrollment status* (f[3] above) ultimately determined the enrollment status of a student: codes 1, 3, or 4 were recoded as "not a dropout," code 2 remained as "a dropout."

Student *academic level* was determined as follows. Advanced-level courses were coded as "1", general-level courses were coded "3," and basic-level courses were coded "5." A student mean course score was calculated, and then mean course scores between 1.0 and 1.9 were recoded "advanced," 2.0 through 4.0 were recoded "general," and over 4.0 were recoded "basic." Academic level was used as a statistical control variable.

Results

Summary Statistics

Data were received from five school boards and from a total of 18 schools within those boards. The sample size for students was $N=4,886$. Almost 49% of the sample came from semestered schools, 51% from traditional schools; 47.2% of the sample were female, 52.8% were male. The sample comprised 55.2% advanced-level students, 39.4% general-level students, and 5.5% basic-level students. The unit of analysis was the student.

Table 1 summarizes student enrollment status for the entire student sample from September 1986 (grade 10) through to September 1989 (the start of year 5). "Mortality" is the number of students who left the sample during previous years as transfers, graduates, or dropouts.

Table 1 shows that 97.3% of the sample remained at the end of the grade 10 year; 90.2% remained at the end of grade 11; 85.1% remained at the end of grade 12, and 74.1% returned to begin grade 13 (year 5). Slightly over 10% of the sample had dropped out of school by the *beginning* of the cohort's fifth year. That percentage differs markedly from the 30 to 33% reported by Radwanski (1987), but this study measured dropouts through only four of the five years of secondary school that is normal for students in Ontario.

Testing for Relationships

The three major variables implicated in the study—school scheduling pattern, enrollment status, and academic level—were all categorical variables. Relationships were analyzed using the chi-square test. Table 2 shows the test between scheduling pattern and enrollment status; Table 3 shows the test between academic level and enrollment status; and Table 4 shows the test

Table 1
Enrollment Status of Students by Grade and Destination

	Grade 10 Year 2	Grade 11 Year 3	Grade 12 Year 4	Begin Grade 13 Year 5
Continued	4755 (97.3%)	4405 (90.2%)	4158 (85.1%)	3619 (74.1%)
Dropped Out	86 (1.8%)	166 (3.4%)	160 (3.3%)	504 (10.3%)
Transferred	45 (0.9%)	184 (3.8%)	87 (1.8%)	338 (6.9%)
Graduated				425 (8.7%)
"Mortality"		131 (2.7%)	481 (9.8%)	
Totals	4886 (100%)	4886 (100%)	4886 (100%)	4886 (100%)

between scheduling pattern and enrollment status controlling for academic level.

Table 2 shows a statistically significant relationship existed between school scheduling pattern and enrollment status. The dropout rate was significantly higher for schools with traditional scheduling patterns than for schools with semestered scheduling patterns.

Table 3 shows that a statistically significant relationship existed between student academic level and enrollment status. The difference occurred mainly between advanced-level students and the other two groups; there was little difference between general-level and basic-level student dropout rates.

When the relationship between school scheduling and dropouts was tested *controlling for the effects of academic level*, as shown in Table 4, the following interaction effect emerged:

1. There was no statistically significant relationship between school scheduling pattern and enrollment status for *advanced-level* students. That is, there was no apparent effect on dropout rates attributable to scheduling patterns among this group of students. The advanced-level dropout rate in semestered schools was slightly higher than the advanced-level dropout rate in traditional schools.

Table 2
Enrollment Status by School Scheduling Pattern

	Enrollment Status		
Scheduling Pattern	Not a Dropout	Dropout	
Semestered Pattern	2161 (91.0%)	214 (9.0%)	2375 (100%)
Traditional Pattern	2221 (88.5%)	290 (11.5%)	2511 (100%)
Totals	4382 (89.7%)	504 (10.3%)	4886 (100%)

Chi-Square = 8.503 ($df = 1$, $p = 0.0035$)

Table 3
Enrollment Status by Academic Level of Students

	Enrollment Status			
Academic Level	Not a Dropout		Dropout	
Advanced-Level	2546	(96.0%)	106	(4.0%)
General-Level	1589	(84.0%)	302	(16.0%)
Basic-Level	223	(85.1%)	39	(14.9%)
Totals	4358	(90.7%)	447	(9.3%)

Table 4
Enrollment Status by Scheduling Pattern by Academic Level

	Academic Level					
	Advanced-Level		General-Level		Basic-Level	
Scheduling Pattern	Not a Dropout	Dropout	Not a Dropout	Dropout	Not a Dropout	Dropout
Semestered	1274 (95.5%)	60 (4.5%)	760 (86.0%)	124 (14.0%)	118 (91.4%)	11 (8.6%)
Traditional	1276 (96.5%)	46 (3.5%)	829 (82.3%)	178 (17.7%)	105 (78.9%)	28 (21.1%)
Total	2546 (96.0%)	106 (4.00%)	1589 (84.0%)	302 (16.0%)	223 (85.1%)	39 (14.9%)
Total	2652		1891		262	
	Chi-Square = 1.754 (n.s.)		Chi-Square = 4.671 $p = 0.031$		Chi-Square = 8.109 $p = 0.004$	

2. There was a statistically significant relationship between school scheduling patterns and enrollment status for *general-level* students. That is, there might be an effect on dropout rates attributable to scheduling patterns among general-level students. The general-level dropout rate in semestered schools was lower than the general-level dropout rate in traditional schools.
3. There was a statistically significant relationship between school scheduling patterns and enrollment status for *basic-level* students. That is, there might be an effect on dropout rates attributable to scheduling patterns among that group of students. The basic-level dropout rate in semestered schools was much lower than the basic-level dropout rate in traditional schools.

Table 5 focuses on the dropouts exclusively. That table shows the percentage of students originally enrolled in *each* academic level in *each* scheduling pattern who dropped out of school. Insert Table 5 Here

Table 5 shows clearly, within academic levels, that the dropout rate (percentage) for advanced-level students in semestered schools did not differ markedly from the rate for advanced-level students in traditional schools. The dropout rate among general-level students in semestered schools was markedly lower than the rate among general-level students in traditional schools. The most marked difference in dropout rates occurred within basic-level students; the dropout rate for semestered schools was far lower than the rate for traditional schools.

Post-Hoc Analysis of the Data

Two other relationships were examined. First, the relationship between sex and dropout rates was tested to determine if dropout rates—from the entire sample—differed between the sexes. There was a significant difference in dropout rates between males and females (Chi-Square=12.134; $df=1$; $p=0.0005$; $N=4886$). Controlling for academic level of students, the only significant difference occurred between general-level males and females (Chi-Square=5.725; $df=1$; $p=0.0167$; $N=1891$). Male dropouts outnumbered females at both other academic levels, but not significantly. In total, 303 (60%) of the 504 dropouts were male, a finding that replicates the rate reported by King et al. (1988). Expressed differently, 11.7% of total number of males dropped out while only 8.7% of females dropped out.

Second, the relationship between school scheduling pattern and student *credit deficit*—the number of credits a student was below some norm—was tested. The notion of credit deficit was a major discussion point in Student Retention and Transition Project workshops run by Ontario Ministry of Education officials during the 1988-1989 school year. Credit deficit, or "credits behind" as named by M.J. Peart (personal communication, February 22, 1989) could serve as a valid predictor concerning dropouts. The notion and the relationship, while not a primary purpose of the study, seemed worthy of investigation. The norm established for this test was 30 credits (the

Table 5
Dropouts by Scheduling Pattern and Academic Level
(Number and Percentage of Original Enrollment)

	Academic Level		
Scheduling Pattern	Advanced	General	Basic
Semestered	60 (56%)	124 (41%)	11 (28%)
Traditional	46 (44%)	178 (59%)	28 (72%)
Totals	106 (100%)	302 (100%)	39 (100%)

Chi-Square = 11.839($df=2$, $p<.0027$)

criterion for graduation under OS:IS). The credit accumulation of a student was categorized within ranges above or below the norm. Table 6 summarizes the data associated with that test.

Table 6 reveals a significant difference between scheduling patterns and credit deficits. It shows that the greater percentage of the students with credits accumulated above the norm (*more than 30 credits accumulated*) occurred in traditional schools. In each category of credit deficit ranging between 2-19 credits below the norm (*13-28 credits accumulated*) the greater percentage of students with those deficits occurred in semestered schools. At the high end (*13 credits accumulated*) and the low end (*29-30 credits accumulated*) of the credit deficit scale, the greater percentage of students with those deficits occurred in traditional schools. The relationship of credit deficit (or accumulation) to scheduling pattern appears complex but, in general, the greater percentage of deficiency in each category occurred in semestered situations. Students in traditional scheduling patterns appear to accumulate credits more rapidly than in semestered situations.

Discussion

Undertaking this study was, to a large extent, like shutting the stable door after 75% of the horses had bolted. While the study simply establishes that a relationship did exist, it may provide a focus or stimulus to study more deeply the characteristics of teaching and learning in different school organizations. Replicating the study at the end of a cohort's fifth year in high school might also allow further verification of dropout rates. It is possible, however, that the opportunity to replicate this study might not exist for long, in Ontario, if the shift to semestered scheduling patterns continues at its present rate. Perhaps better, some studies of causal relationships between effective instruction, such as reported by Rosenshine (1983), and dropping out could be conducted within or between school types to yield findings that might contribute to making schools more effective.

The study did establish the wealth of objective archival data available to researchers, and also the willingness of school boards to share those data where practical. There is no easy way of certifying the reliability or validity of

Table 6
School Scheduling Pattern by Credit Deficit

	Credit Deficit								
	30-25	24-20	19-15	14-10	9-5	4-2	1-0	>Norm	
Semestered	30	95	194	238	361	433	653	353	2357
	40%	45%	53%	52%	58%	56%	44%	43%	48.8%
Traditional	44	114	172	224	265	347	834	469	2469
	60%	55%	47%	48%	42%	44%	56%	57%	51.2%
Totals	74	209	366	462	626	780	1487	822	4826
	1.5%	4.3%	7.6%	9.6%	13.0%	16.2%	30.8%	17.0%	100%

Chi-Square = 66.165, $df = 7$, $p < 0.0001$

the data, but they are likely no less reliable, in totality, than data collected through any other means. A major limitation of archival research, though, is that no additional information can be gained concerning causes or other factors not contained in each record.

The post-hoc finding concerning credit deficit and school scheduling pattern (Table 6) was intriguing. Explaining that relationship in terms of the supposed benefits or opportunities afforded by semestering might prove difficult. Sharman (1989) found that grade 9 students in a semestered system were less satisfied (because of pressure) than grade 9 students in a traditional system, but in grade 10 semestered student satisfaction had increased. Perhaps grade 9 students experienced enough difficulty adjusting to semestering, a system that is markedly different from their middle school experience, to cause an initial difference in credit accumulation. The overall difference in credit accumulation might occur in grade 9. That could also provide a research topic of interest.

This study did not set out to measure school effectiveness per se, which is a very complex phenomenon (see Bryk & Thum, 1989). If dropout rates, however, form a valid outcome measure of school effectiveness, it might appear, superficially, that one form of scheduling pattern is more effective than another for certain types of students. A statistically significant relationship was found to exist between school scheduling patterns and dropout rates, and the study, therefore, achieved its purpose. Whether that relationship is deemed to be *practically significant* rests with each reader, although readers should always consider that what goes on in classrooms might be determined, in part, by the structures in which those classrooms are nested. Classrooms as organizational subunits are not likely the "closed systems" that writers such as Lortie (1975) might lead one to believe.

Notes

1. This study was supported by the Provincial Office of the Ontario Secondary School Teachers' Federation through a J. W. Ansley Memorial Award for research.
2. The author gratefully acknowledges the invaluable support and assistance of the Directors of Education and Computer Services personnel of the Board of Education for the City of Windsor, the Carleton Board of Education, the Durham Board of Education, the Northumberland and Newcastle Board of Education, and the Waterloo County Board of Education.
3. This study will be replicated using the same schools but implicating students who entered grade 10 in 1987.

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The Alberta Journal of Educational Research *Vol. XXXVI, No. 4, December 1990, 337-351*

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A Teacher Experiments with Drama as a Teaching Tool: A Collaborative Research Project

A traditional classroom teacher led a group of children in an informal afterschool drama program. His growth in the use of drama teaching strategies and his understanding of the role of drama in empowering children to create are the focus of this study. The themes that emerged from the study were growth in the ability to develop story schema through drama experience, the use of drama teaching strategies, the use of imagery as a teaching strategy in the drama experience, and the development of language through use in a meaningful and purposeful context. Implications drawn from the teacher's journal, researchers' field notes, and interviews led the researchers to make connections between informal drama sessions and traditional drama teaching situations.

Introduction

Because little research has been completed that explores the value and effects of drama education in informal nonschool settings, the researchers in this study elected to follow a group of children in an afterschool informal drama program to investigate the themes and issues that emerged from the weekly drama classes. The new understandings of the teacher, which developed over the course of this project, are the focal point of this article.

Purpose of the Study

The research project was specifically designed to provide direction for improving the use of drama as a tool for effective teaching. It was hoped that this would enable teachers, whether involved in formal classroom instruction or in recreational drama activities, to more readily perceive the value of drama as a way of knowing and enable them to be more comfortable in using drama as a teaching tool. To achieve this, the cognitive, affective, and artistic growth of children as they participated in a weekly afterschool drama program was investigated over a two-year period.

This article explores only one aspect of the total two-year project, the growth of Sean, the teacher, as he experimented with drama as a teaching

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tool, using one class of nine- to twelve-year-olds in the afterschool drama program. By exploring with Sean his new awarenesses of drama techniques, the researchers hoped to highlight new understandings that will benefit other teachers.

Collaborative Component of the Study

According to Swain (De Bevoise, 1986) working with the schools is a natural outgrowth of the university's mission. "As an urban university, we have a self-conscious dedication to serving the surrounding urban area, to developing and enhancing our linkages with the community" (p. 10).

With this concept in mind, the Departments of Drama, Secondary Education, and Elementary Education at the University of Alberta collaborated to form a University/Community Children's Drama Project to foster the development and support of child drama and drama education. In order to do this a new collaboration was established with a classroom teacher from Edmonton Public Schools and with a member of the Windsor Park Community League. A class of children, drawn from the university neighborhood, met for one hour per week for two years (48 one-hour sessions covering four university terms).

All three components, university, school, and community, collaborated on creating the drama project, planning the specific classes, carrying out the practical aspects of the program's organization, and evaluating the program.

Two university members of the project initiated a research component to explore the educational drama implications of these meetings. As the research developed it became clear to the researchers that it would be necessary to redefine the use of the term collaboration as it pertained to this project. At its inception the project used the following definition: "collaboration is a term that implies the parties involved share responsibility and authority for basic policy decision making" (Hord, 1986). The researchers came to realize that the above definition pertained to the Drama Project itself, but the research work seemed to demand an evolving definition. Carson and Jacknicke (1988) elaborate the difference between collaborative and cooperative projects: cooperation meaning to work together and collaborative meaning to work in conjunction. As further description demonstrates, the research component with Sean, the teacher, began as a cooperative project and evolved into a collaborative endeavor.

Setting of the Study

The class met in a community league building and used an upper storey, large, carpeted room as the drama space. Windows framed one side of the room so that both natural light and artificial light could be used. Sean, an elementary school teacher with nine years of elementary school teaching experience, led the drama. The children who participated in the first year had an age range from seven to eleven years. During the second year, two classes were organized: seven- and eight-year-olds, and nine- to twelve-year-olds. The data presented in this article focus on one of these second-year classes only: the eight children aged nine to twelve years.

Methodology Used in the Study

The most important piece of research data was the weekly journal kept by Sean containing his reflections on the class he had just led (Spradley, 1979; Craig, 1984a). In the second year, the researchers shared with Sean the themes that had emerged from the first year's data in order to focus his observations on these aspects. However, he was still given the freedom to reflect on other areas of concern emanating from the class periods (Rowles, 1978; Agar, 1980).

A second source of data consisted of field notes taken by an in situ recorder (research assistant trained in ethnographic research methodology, Spradley, 1979). This assistant observed each class and collected factual material describing the teacher's strategies, lesson sequencing, questioning modes, and student responses and involvement.

Third, the two researchers conducted informal interviews (Spradley, 1979) during the four terms, at the six-week and 12-week points. These interviews were conducted with six selected parents of the children and six selected children. The interviews were audiorecorded and transcribed.

Last, the researchers interviewed Sean (Spradley, 1979) at four-week intervals over the four terms. These interviews took the form of informal dialogues, often emanating from questions or statements made in Sean's journal. These also were audiorecorded and transcribed.

These triangulated data were collected and, as themes emerged through repetition in each of the data bases, material was coded according to these emergent themes (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). A schema was drawn up indicating the connections from the data both to drama teaching strategies and to language arts (the fields of expertise of the two researchers). The transcript of these emerging themes was shared with Sean so that his reactions to these perceptions could be used to verify the findings. Latitude was allowed during the second year for any new themes that might emerge as the acts of coding and interpretation continued (Werner & Rothe, 1979).

In the first term of the project, the researchers identified the themes and, in interview, shared these findings with Sean. This was a cooperative step. As Sean began to articulate the findings from his journal the mode became more collaborative. The teacher and the researchers together established the focus for further data collection.

Because this project fits under the heading of "Human Science Research" (van Manen, 1990) and because human beings were the subjects of the study and their words and actions were to be used, it was important that the research meet the five guidelines of the Research Ethics Committees of both the Department of Elementary Education and the Department of Secondary Education at the University of Alberta. Both committees gave their approval to this project (University of Alberta, 1985).

Emergent Themes

The specific themes identified by the researchers and verified by Sean during the course of this study were:

- Sean's growth in the ability to identify story possibilities and of the children to develop stories through drama experience.
- Sean's expanded awareness and use of drama teaching strategies.
- Sean's development of imagery as a part of the drama experience.
- Sean's role in the children's language development through its use in a purposeful context.

Theme One: Story Development

> Story is a basic way of organizing human experiences, a framework for learning.... Drama helps children journey inside the story garden, so that they can reconstruct the symbols, images, and narrative sequence. (Booth, 1985, pp. 194-195)

In looking at the development of the story and the origin of the story ideas, a number of points emerged in several data sources. Sean was concerned not to impose his ideas onto the children. He wanted to accept their ideas and interests and work with them. It was important to Sean that the children work with a theme and a story that was meaningful and interesting to them. In his first interview of the second year of the study Sean said:

> I'm not dictating curriculum, like I am at school, so the situation is different, and I didn't want to come in dictating curriculum, but I, as well, didn't want to get caught in the kind of trap I got into last time.

Sean was aware of the problem he had encountered in the first year's teaching at the drama center—that of pursuing a theme or story line with the children which *he* thought they would want and resisting what the children were themselves suggesting. Sean therefore made a strong commitment to listen to the children's preferences and to try to work with them. However, in the second or third session of year two he made an interpretation of the children's responses that took the drama in a direction that was not comfortable, or meaningful, to all the children in the group. Sean felt a strong sense of purpose and direction and forged ahead with a "space" theme. *He* designed a space station and the children were to react to it. Although he was concerned about building group identity, his theme only served to split the group into two distinct factions, those who wanted to go to space and those who rejected this idea for the story line. Sean initially resisted the suggestions of a group of children who opposed the theme but soon realized that the drama could not work in those circumstances. He reluctantly had to abandon the space theme, going back to the theme of people in conflict and the problems of "Life in Chocapple Street," which had been the theme developed by the children at the beginning of the term.

Sean wrote in his journal:

> I have let go of the going to space, but hang on to our city of devastation. I was not going to fight them on the space theme. I had been fighting them, I think now.

Sean also realized that some children had been absent during some of the initial group experiences. When these children returned to class, they were

reluctant to accept decisions that had been made in their absence and to participate in the story. The absence or presence of one or two children each week had a strong influence on how the story developed and what decisions were made. Also the background and interests of each child made an enormous difference to what happened to the story and the way the children approached it.

Sean made a number of observations:

1. The value of shared experiences in a group drama cannot be underestimated in regard to building level of belief and a meaningful story.
2. The effect of unstable attendance at the center was a cause of discontinuity and fractured the group.
3. Personal differences among the children regarding interests and ways of working must be taken into account.
4. The children worked most effectively in the "now," and when they were in action.

This latter point was highlighted in the middle of the term, just before Halloween, when Sean took the emphasis *off* problem drama and did a "game type" of session, where the children created a monster. The children enjoyed it immensely and worked together well as a group. Sean observed that the children worked together well when they were working in the "now," and he commented that "they had trouble identifying with those pictures ... in the past. It was all discussion. It needs that flavor of action." (He had taken in pictures in year one as a way of getting the drama started.) He further said that it was quite clear that the children still had some interest in what they were doing (even though there was dissent in the group). Sean speculated that it was possibly just the thrill of being together and drawing a picture together, but from these observations it appeared that the children did not want to plan and discuss, or go back into the past, but wanted to get into action and *do* something.

By the final term of the project Sean had developed many insights into his work at the drama center. He realized that he had been controlling ideas and activities to a much greater degree than he had imagined. This giving up of control to the children was a major step for Sean in his work that year. Sean felt that he was able to go into the last term more open to the children's ideas, yet ready to provide stimulation and facilitate the children's work in an open-ended way. As a result of this, according to Sean, the children developed a high level of engagement in the story and their role in it. Therefore, the work became more focused. He felt there was little conflict and that there developed a solid group cohesiveness. He also said,

> Last term I had trouble getting a direction going.... This term I went in differently. I went in without my pictures under my arm. I went in with a half statement which was "Standing on the edge...." I went in with just an idea. (Interview)

Sean ensured that everything he structured for the children consisted of common shared experiences, but many of the ideas, such as the time traveling machine used in the last term, came from the children's individual

drawings. After a reading from the first part of a book called *The Laughing Lion* (Pearson, 1921) the children were asked where *their* time traveling machine took them. Their responses varied from San Francisco turned into a Fantasyland, to dinosaurs, to nuclear war, and Sean's aim was to explore all of these through drama.

> What seems to be clearer to me this term as opposed to last term, is definitely the idea of the story—it's stronger. There's different personalities there, and time travel doesn't mean space. (Interview)

The changes in Sean's approach to the drama sessions, according to his analysis, were enormous. Many of the children's ideas were incorporated into the sessions, and this resulted in less stereotyped dramatic responses."To some extent, [teachers] must be prepared to put themselves in their pupils' hands while retaining the functions, duties and responsibilities of the teacher" (O'Neill & Lambert, 1982, p. 21). This was happening for Sean. He was beginning to recognize the "journey inside the story garden."

Theme Two: The Use of Drama Teaching Strategies

> Teachers are becoming aware of the elements which drama and theater share—elements which have long been recognized as the essential "clay" of the medium by the most effective theorists and practioners. (O'Neill, 1985, p. 158)

The tools that form the basis for the craft of theater have been classified in various ways. For the purpose of this study we used the classification suggested by Dorothy Heathcote (Wagner, 1976 p. 154), a noted drama educator. To prove that classroom drama uses the elements of the art of theater she proposed six basic theatrical tools as the spectra used in the development of theater and adapted by the classroom teacher who leads students in the art of drama. These are darkness/light, silence/sound, and stillness/movement. As the classroom strategies used in this study were analyzed it became clear that all of these elements were part of the drama experience.

Darkness/Light

The physical aspects of the room did not of themselves lead to an easy application of this theatrical principle. There was only general illumination. No spotlights or dimming devices were available. The windows along one side of the long room made for bright illumination as part of the general environment. Sean used the command, "Close your eyes" frequently. Sometimes the command preceded an imaging exercise. At other times, the darkening of the space by the closing of the eyes preceded side-coaching to build environment or mood, or to create a bodily reaction.

At other times, darkness was created by a blindfold so that one person could not see in order to carry out a theater game to build tension. An example would be the adaptation of the Keeper of the Keys game which Sean used to build supersonic ears for the space station.

Silence/Sound

The second set of principles which form the basis of theater were more possible in the space in which the class was held. From the first meeting when certain Name Games were introduced, sound was part of these sessions. The children were urged to be articulate, to respond, to discuss, to brainstorm for ideas. Speech drills, breathing drills, articulation exercises, and patter drills were all part of the warm-up exercises.

Storytelling became part of the session as Sean told stories to instigate and evoke responses. The circle story was introduced where the children collectively created a story. Sound stories were used, as were machine exercises where sound was added.

In contrast, periods of quiet, of silence, were also part of the training. Frequently, the side-coaching included, "Concentrate," "Think," "Be still," "Decide for yourself," "Turn down the volume," "Listen," "Make your plan in your head," "You're in a dark, quiet place" (Field Notes).

The balance between sound and silence formed the basis for this class.

Stillness/Movement

From the first day of class, movement or complete involvement of the body was part of the class activity. The movement evolved from the exercise variety, as Sean directed:

> Take fast tiny steps.
> You are the smallest shape, the biggest shape.
> In a glass box, gravity is a problem. You are weightless.
> We are the fountain at West Edmonton Mall. (Field Notes)

to the more complex movement directions:

> We're going to make a machine with 11 parts. (Field Notes)

to movement-in-role:

> Line up everyone! I'm your sergeant. You're going to enter weightlessness. Have any of you been there before? (Some nod.) Then you know you have to puff up your cheeks and learn the techniques for propelling yourself. (Field Notes)

Stillness was encouraged from the first class with the use of the word "freeze." The use of time-count encouraged stillness and then fast movement, for example,

> Meet me on the count of 5. (Field Notes)

The technique of tableaux was another use of stillness which led to understanding and meaning. A frozen picture, created by a single child or a group of children working together, was utilized from the second class onward, for example,

> Make a frozen picture of your hands working your machines. (Field Notes)

All six of the elements which form the basis of the theatrical experience were present in the drama class, and yet other teaching techniques were

utilized which defy classification into one of these categories. These are discussed in the following drama strategies which emerged as part of this theme.

Boundaries

Important to these classes was the sense of restrictions placed on the students for the general order and organization of the class. It was found that space boundaries (the circle, the use of a rug) and certain sound controls (a cymbal, a tambourine, counting off, touching the shoulder, a clap, the word "freeze") established class rules and set a sense of security about the work/play. Time boundaries were also present, as Sean side-coached:

> Meet me at the count of 5.
> When I count to 5 things will be worse. (Field Notes)

Boundaries worked so well that, in time, only one command, "Circle," was followed by the children instantly which saved time and allowed the short class to be utilized to its best advantage (Tarlington & Verriour, 1983, p.14).

Depictions

Another strategy used frequently in this program was that of depiction. It was used to open or close a session. For example, Sean brought in pictures of the past for the students and he reflected:

> I ... laid out a sequence of 7-8 pictures of city scenes. Actually the same location that over a series of years went through major modernizing change. (Journal)

The children were asked to study the pictures and write down three things which impressed or interested them in the picture or pictures that they chose. Each week, the class began with the students working on their picture or word list from the week before, or by decorating their folders. Some days the pictures were used as part of the drama. At other times, this device seemed to be used as a bridge or transition to bring the class back to the theme being developed after a week's distance from the story line.

Use of Role

The techniques of endowing students with a role and of the teacher stepping into role in order to further the action of the drama were used frequently. Sean asked the class to take on the mind of the inventor, to create machines for the future. They were made experts on internal design in space. At another time they were space center captains and new recruits in a paired exercise that moved into role reversal so that each participant would experience both roles.

The teacher took on several roles, some clear-cut and obvious, others in the grey area which allowed students to determine the role confronting them. "I'm your sergeant" is a clear exposition of the role being donned. "Everyone line up," followed by a dropping of role to say, "Who do you think was speaking to you?" puts the control of the role into the students' hands (Field Notes).

Another development in role usage was asking students to quickly leave one role and don another.

> Shake that role off. You are now a group of protesters. (Field Notes)

Later in the term role reversal was at the heart of the drama experience where the class explored both the role of the people in a kingdom they had created, and the people of the valley near the kingdom. Roles were used to make a real life connection from one drama experience to the other.

Sean had utilized the six elements of the art of theater and had also recognized as part of "the essential clay of the medium" other teaching strategies such as boundaries, depictions, and role play.

Theme Three: The Use of Imaging as a Teaching Strategy in the Drama Experience

> Drama enables us to discover the heart of story through its images. (Haine, 1985, p. 187)

Imaging, the closing of the eyes to see on the white screen of the mind, appeared to be an important strategy, one to be explored independent of, and yet integrated with, other drama teaching strategies. It was used by the teacher as a method of helping the children to believe more firmly in the drama being explored. However, it was also extended to other uses.

In one drama experience the use of imaging became a factor in the growth of belief in the drama moment. Early in the term Sean was leading a warm-up exercise involving imaginary balloons. His side-coaching included the words,

> In drama, we have to imagine things that aren't there and believe them ... watch the balloon, what color is your balloon? (Field Notes)

He worked to understand the children's responses to the warm-up exercise, to sort out the signals they were making to his side-coached directions:

> There was no common image of the machine. They each had an image. Some had no image, just a manufactured movement bit, but involvement, nonetheless. (Journal)

The use of this strategy became clearer as the children developed the ritual of the building of the space craft, which was used frequently. As Sean attempted to deepen their belief in the craft, the side-coaching opened avenues for imagination development.

Imaging was also used as a method of organizing, of planning ahead, of sorting out ideas, and of gathering evidence. At one point Sean commanded:

> Freeze. Close your eyes. Make your plan in your head. Think of evidence....
> Sit still. Close your eyes. Get a picture of something you see. People are being hurt. There's not much time. I want us to know Chocapple Street ...
> In your own head, make up your mind what you'll say. (Field Notes)

It was also used as a method of control, of calming down, and focusing on the work at hand with seriousness and purpose. He side-coached:

> Sit in a still position. Close your eyes everybody. Take all the silliness out of your mind. You'll need your seriousness. (Field Notes)

Perhaps the most novel use of imaging, and this may be one of the breakthroughs of this study, was the use of artwork in the class as a way of visualizing in which directions the drama might move. The pictures, child-conceived and drawn, became the next step in the drama sequence and were combined with imaging exercises in the drama experience.

Sean realized that five of the children's drawings were depictions of action on which future parts of the drama could be built. One boy had depicted two dinosaurs in battle just over the ridge on which the time machine had settled. Sean said:

> (Paul) probably twigged in really early that I was using ideas off his page. But to the rest, it wasn't that at all. To somebody else it was "well, I've got this sense that we built this orchestrated monster fight over the hill that we couldn't see".... And I've got five more visions on paper that are vastly different ... The whole lesson yesterday was structured around his (Paul's) picture—a lot of imagery, a lot of parallel play ... in being in this heavily jungle area. (Interview)

Haine (1985) insists that drama is "image work" (a phrase he borrows from Hillman's writing, 1983). By this he means that "participation in drama draws on both conscious and unconscious imaginative capabilities and involves teacher and student in the bedrock of human reaction" (p. 187). In this study, Sean used imaging strategies both in the drama per se and in the artwork adjacent to the story-building. He seemed to view drama and participation in it as image work. However, he exercised the precautions that have been suggested for all drama teachers who use imaging as a teaching strategy (Craig, 1984b, p. 14). These precautions are that the side-coaching be done carefully, seeding the image the leader wishes the children to have or to develop in the mental exercise. The questioning should be done specifically, with a purpose for the words used. Opportunities should be offered for the children to share verbally or in artwork the images that they have experienced. Timing of the imaging exercises should be short. Last, before and after the imaging exercises, action sequences should be structured into the lesson.

Sean had discovered imaging as one way to "the heart of the story."

Theme Four: Language Development

> If language development is to be the central focus of a classroom drama, then reflection about language should also play a major role in the planning and implementation of a dramatic context. (Verriour, 1985, p. 182)

The language of the drama sessions appears to have followed some distinct patterns. At the very beginning of the first interview held with Sean, he asked the question, as much to himself as to anyone, "Is language use a teaching strategy?" He answered his own question by saying, "I think so—it is as integral as using a tambourine as a control device; extending the language that they give me all of the time." Here, Sean was referring to Heathcote's idea of "upgrading" children's language (Wagner, 1976). Sean

said that Heathcote's ideas and words rang in his ears as he led each session. He had studied with Heathcote, observed her work with young people, and dialogued with her as a teacher (Interview). This was certainly apparent in Sean's interaction with the children during the drama sessions as he showed an effort to upgrade children's language. During one class, for example, these exchanges took place between Sean and the children:

> Ann: It might be possible to go underwater.
> Sean: Ah, you're suggesting another environment.
> Greg: I heard yesterday that other countries are also having problems.
> Sean: Ah, the problem is global. (Field Notes)

He also assisted them in clarifying their thoughts. In one interview Sean said:

> So that's a goal too, so that they can talk about and be expressive with these problems ... whether they're role playing or reflecting.

In his journal, Sean wrote that the "ages are closer" (than last year), "we can rely more on the written word and expand from the crayon drawn picture." "The older group allows one to say 'write' instead of 'draw'; another dimension I shall capitalize on throughout." In the field notes for the classes it is reported that Sean did ask the children to write as a way of reflecting on their experiences in the drama, or as a way of clarifying their thoughts. The children were asked to write down in their folders the things that had impressed or interested them, and Sean reminded the children that this was a "thought exercise." He asked them to write in sentences and not just in single words. This language-thinking connection was apparent throughout Sean's work in the drama sessions. The children were often asked to list, for example, things that had changed in the last 100 years, and they were often asked to brainstorm ideas that were then recorded on chart paper, for example, imagining what kinds of adventures they could have in space.

Although the children were generally described by Sean as being articulate, he expressed some concern over the level of oral language interaction that occurred during some of the drama sessions. At one point (in an interview) Sean commented that the articulation and language level was a "bit static now." He said that he thought the challenge of the idea had gone and that he had "dragged it on too much." He thought there seemed to be too much repetition. In a later session the children did not respond well to the questions put to them, perhaps because there seemed to be a "right answer" being sought. The children did not appear willing to risk. The field notes state that the children did not seem to be interested. Their responses to questions were without life. They were not serious and didn't seem to be involved. Sean was aware that at some points he was pushing an idea that the children were not fully willing to receive. He felt the tension, and the children's unwillingness was reflected in the ensuing discussion or lack of discussion. He also had the awareness to encourage the children to voice opposition and to make their feelings known.

The overriding message that emerges from these interactions is that children must have something real and urgent to talk about if they are going to engage in any meaningful and intense discussion. Children do not talk for

the sake of talking. They must feel ownership, they must feel they are being heard, and they must have a sense of purpose in their discussions and dialogues. If children sense that the situation is artificial and there is no real purpose in what they are doing, they are not likely to engage in meaningful interaction.

The key words that emerge throughout this study are "challenge" and "interest." It appears that if the children were challenged (rather than pushed) with issues, material, and situations that were of interest to them, the language that was generated was at a far higher level of intensity and the children were much more engaged in the drama and the discussion. It is this level of engagement that appears to be at the heart of the language use. Sean reflected on the language development "in the planning and implementation" of the drama sessions.

Reflections on the Growth of the Teacher

Sean used his journal to write some final reflections as he concluded a term of leading the children at the Community League. He wrote:

> It has been a great learning experience for me as a teacher. I'm looking back and beginning to be able to step back and away from the work and gain an objective analysis.... I'm ready to continue along this road to growth and discovery to make more natural my work with young people. (Journal)

As we looked back over the themes we investigated, we found that although each theme could be analyzed separately there were underlying connections. These connections opened the way to dialogue between the researchers from which new understandings emerged: understandings of the teachers, of the children, and of the techniques and strategies that make drama such a valuable teaching tool. Sean's journal reflections and the teaching strategies he explored during the drama sessions led the way to this connection-making.

Empowerment of Children

Sean came to realize that drama teachers may have to "put themselves in their pupils hands while retaining the functions, duties and responsibilities of the teacher" (O'Neill & Lambert, 1982, p. 21). "The teacher must be prepared to enter the children's world once they begin to work in the medium" (Heathcote, 1984, p. 47). Early in the project Sean was committed to avoiding the dictation of a curriculum to the children and yet he saw that he had fallen into this trap. Later, Sean again made a strong attempt to avoid this pitfall. During the latter months, however, Sean reported that he was aware of this error and realized that he was able to stimulate the children's ideas more thoughtfully and use these ideas in the drama sessions. He felt he was able to take that great and risky step of passing control to the children, and the children's responses were equal to the task. Sean had managed to enter the children's world and to put himself "in his pupil's hands."

Sean also realized that the more control or input the children have with the ideas of the drama the more engagement there is and the deeper their level of belief in the story. This also applies to the language used. When the

children were put in situations where they needed to use language to meet their own needs in the drama situation, then the language was richer and more fluent. When responding to teacher statements or teacher questions the children's language was more perfunctory and far less complex. Sean focused on the connection between language and thinking throughout the drama sessions and clearly saw the connection between ownership of ideas, the thinking demanded by the situation, and the overall language used.

Use of Drama Teaching Strategies

Sean's key breakthrough in the early days of leading the class was in the importance of creative dramatics: the importance of the body, movement, and of all the things that are part of structured dramatic play, and also part of mime and movement. The importance of this insight affected his later work. Sean saw this *not* as games and movement versus problem solving, or as American creative dramatics versus British child drama, but as different parts of a whole. The one needed the other; creative dramatics was a way of creating greater belief in the drama, leading to understanding and a deeper level of drama participation. By exploring the tools which form the basis of the craft of theater (darkness/light, silence/sound, stillness/movement) and by identifying extended tools such as boundaries, depictions, and role play, Sean was expanding his use of, and comfort with, elements that drama practitioners have suggested to educators for decades.

Imaging and Depictions as Powerful Tools

A significant breakthrough for Sean in the class on which this article focuses was the realization that the artwork created by the children not only provided direction for the drama, but was in itself a powerful way of visualizing or imaging. Several of the classes evolved from pictures the children had drawn, and the drama often led to the creation of pictures with powerful messages. Children were both suggesting new dramas and doing artwork as a result of the dramatic activity. A creative cycle was generated. Sean's work at the center strongly supports Haine's contention that drama is image work (Haine, 1985) that draws on both conscious and unconscious imaginative capabilities.

Sean used the powerful strategy of imaging carefully. He guarded the children by using precautions as to the side-coaching, the images seeded, the use of questioning, and time for debriefing.

Informal Drama Informs the Classroom Teacher

During the entire project, Sean seemed to struggle with the concept of the drama teacher who plied his art in a formal school situation transferring his activity to the informal afterschool setting. A prevailing traditional classroom atmosphere was identified as a possible problem early in the project. However, Sean felt that working with a few children was much different than working with the larger number in a regular classroom. He questioned what constituted classroom-type behavior and expressed concern about how to get away from hand raising and other classroom traditions, as he worked more informally with the children. He felt that the kind of atmosphere he

wanted to establish went hand-in-hand with how he wanted the children to respond to him and to each other. He felt that the children in the drama class were very much on task and quick to respond, and that this was very much connected to the way that he interacted with them. This was also true in his traditional classroom, so Sean concluded that teacher-student interaction was of greater importance than group ritual or rules. He seemed to need a balance between formal and informal; certain structures were required in order to have a productive class session, but the atmosphere had to be more intimate and open for sharing.

Another problem that plagues formal and informal situations is attendance. This problem was present throughout the drama project and was perceived by Sean as contributing to discontinuity. He also saw it as a contributing cause of disharmony and conflict. Children who missed sessions were not inclined to pick up the drama without questioning it on their return, and some children refused to go along with decisions that had been made in their absence. Sean realized that regular participation played a large part in the level of engagement in the drama, as well as in the harmony and spirit of collaboration within the group.

How did Sean grow as he experimented with drama as a teaching tool? He clearly recognized that if children are to fully participate and engage in drama experiences, they must be empowered to develop stories, use purposeful language, and have control of their actions. The control must be placed in the children's hands, and the stories and language should come from the children. Sean *identified* the drama teaching strategies *by returning* to his own roots as a drama student and *by experimenting* with theatrical tools which transformed the space in which the children worked and gave structure to the drama experiences they had each week. Sean extended his use of visualizing or imaging. Children's artwork focused many of the drama sessions as Sean imaged with the children and drew images from their depictions.

Finally, Sean, as a traditional classroom teacher, found many ways in which the afterschool drama program informed his classroom teaching. Classroom behavior, attendance, teacher role, and student involvement all became part of his weekly exploration. Sean understood that if he was to work effectively with children in a classroom setting he must adjust his teaching to accommodate some of these new awarenesses that he had developed in the afterschool drama project. Sean would agree with Verriour (1985) that:

> At a time when many educators are becoming increasingly dissatisfied with overly prescriptive models of teaching, drama is emerging as a powerful mode of learning through which students are encouraged to gain mastery over their own thinking. (p. 185)

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The Alberta Journal of Educational Research *Vol. XXXVI, No. 4, December 1990, 353-369*

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Food for Thought: Realities of a Women-Dominated Organization

This article reports on a case study of nurse educators in a Canadian hospital school of nursing. The study asked: Would organizational behavior in an organization staffed largely by female professionals be significantly different from the typical, predominantly male, professional organization? The significance of the study for the organizational and administrative literature is presented. Using grounded theory, four major categories generated from the data are discussed. The data suggest that in a women-dominated organization a distinct view of the world emerges in the workplace that has major implications for organizational and administrative researchers and administrators.

Would organizational behavior in an organization staffed largely by female professionals be different in significant ways from the typical, predominantly male, professional organization? In the past, most of the theorizing about organizations reflects an aspect of the social world that has been dominated largely by men. Research into the administration of organizations has generally been carried out by men, in settings where men are the majority of actors, using strategies which are meaningful from a male perspective.

Research into educational organizations has been no exception even though there are significant numbers of women in these organizations. The research indicates that the male perspective pervades most of the approaches to administration and organizational research in education.

Only recently in the organizational and administrative literature has the idea been acknowledged that women may bring distinctive views of the world to the workplace. The ways women's views might influence organizational culture have not been explored in research. A specific arena in which the influence of a female perspective might best be examined is in an organization staffed largely by women. Because 98% of nurses in Canada are female (Okrainec, 1986, p. 16), and nursing is one of the oldest and largest women-dominated professions, studying a nursing organization is ideal for exploring administrative aspects of a women-dominated organization. This article

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reports on a case study of a Canadian hospital school of nursing. It attempts to reappraise old administrative theories, to concentrate on aspects of administration that may have been ignored or taken for granted, and to encourage an alternative mode of thinking about organizations. It is hoped that the current work will contribute to a more inclusive understanding of the work of women in organizations in general and have implications for the study of educational organizations.

The Context of the Study

In the past, researchers have made little attempt to include females in their studies. Generally, males "have assumed implicitly a kind of sexual symmetry" (Bernard, 1981, p. 14), that is, everything that exists for males also exists for females. For example, two instruments that in the past have been frequently used in educational administration research, the Leader Behaviour Description Questionnaire (LBDQ) and LBDQ-XII (Halpin & Winer, 1957), are both sexist in theory and construction. "Using the male pronoun throughout and validated with men, these instruments have been used to judge the performance of female administrators" (Shakeshaft, 1981, p. 22). There has been little attempt to adapt these instruments to female administrators.

Kohlberg (1981) assumed sexual symmetry in his cognitive development model of moral reasoning which is largely based on a study of 84 boys whose development was followed for 20 years. He assumed that his findings could be generalized to girls; however, Gilligan's (1982) and Lyons' (1983) research findings concluded there was a difference in the moral development of girls and boys. In referring to sociological investigation, Daniels (1975, p. 346) suggested that women were excluded from consideration in research studies because male scholars believed that what women did was trivial and therefore unworthy of scientific exploration. This point could also be made of administrative investigation. For example, most research in educational administration has either left females out of the sample but generalized the findings to both genders or has included females and attempted to account for the effects of gender (Shakeshaft, 1987, p. 162). However, the research results are biased by the androcenterism of the original research (Shakeshaft & Nowell, 1984, p. 200). Spender (1981, p. 162) contended that, "the scale on which women have been omitted from educational consideration is massive." For example, in surveying the sociology of education literature in Britain, Acker (1980) documented the absence of women (cited in Spender, 1981, pp. 162-163). Of 184 articles published since 1960, 58% purported to be studying both sexes, but 37% had exclusively male samples while only 5% had all-female samples. Often these female samples were used to study mothers' influence on their children.

For the most part, knowledge of females has been limited to how they impinge on males. The neglect of the study of women, including women in organizations (Gould, 1980, p. 459), imposes limits on our intellectual horizons. As Gould stated, "regrettably absent are descriptive case studies and interpretive analyses of roles women play as creators or innovators of organizations" (p. 459).

Conducting the Inquiry

In order to investigate the role women play in organizations, the faculty in a Canadian hospital school of nursing were selected for this study. This organization was selected because such educational institutions annually graduate the largest number of nurses. Also, hospital schools of nursing come closest to being a cloistered female world; they typically are run by females and predominantly populated by females.

The school of nursing consisted of 220 students and 40 female faculty members, all of whom had at least baccalaureate-level preparation. Three faculty members also had master's degrees. The ages of the instructors ranged from 30 to 50 years. The marital status was 21 married, three divorced, 12 single, and one who described her living arrangement as cohabiting. The curriculum was taught by three teaching teams. Most of the activity in the school revolved around these teams. Although the study included all faculty members of the school, six faculty members served as key participants. When faculty members were asked to volunteer to serve as key participants, five instructors responded. The investigator asked an additional faculty member to participate. She was a full-time member of one particular team, married with children, two aspects not fully represented in the self-selected sample.

The key participants varied in age from 30 to 43. One was married with two children; one was a single parent; one was divorced; and the other three were single. These participants represented all teams. One participant represented the faculty support services. The educational background of the six key participants was as follows: three hospital diploma graduates, two college diploma graduates, and one generic nursing baccalaureate degree graduate. Two participants had university education in other non-nursing disciplines. Five had worked for several years in a variety of hospital nursing units before returning for a post basic baccalaureate degree in nursing. Four were currently enrolled in university courses toward a master's degree. The role of the six key participants (Cecile, Janine, Martine, Odile, Simone, & Thérèse) was crucial. They shared important information about the organization and administration of the school and helped the investigator focus on vital data.

During the 12-month period in which the investigator was collecting the data, she attended meetings of all three teaching teams, full faculty meetings, and other committee meetings and spent considerable time with faculty members in the faculty lounge during coffee breaks and lunches. Data mainly consisted of three types: copious documents distributed to faculty, transcribed audiotapes of interviews with key participants, and field notes. Two interviews lasting from 60 to 90 minutes were conducted with each of the six key participants, one during the first six months and the second during the last month of the study. The key participants either confirmed the results or noted exceptions to the themes tentatively proposed by the investigator. The grounded theory approach was used to analyze the field notes out of which were generated five categories that pertained to the organization and administration of the school. Four of the categories are discussed here. The fifth

category was omitted because it was of a different order than the other categories.

The Findings

Food as a Facilitator of Relationships

Food was a category that liberally peppered the 254 pages of single-spaced typed field notes. This category was thoroughly discussed during the two dialogues with the six key participants. The discussing, preparing, cooking, and eating of food were strong elements of this culture, and such topics often dominated conversations over lunch, coffee breaks, and during meetings. Food was seen as the panacea for many situations. It was used for celebrating births, birthdays, and marriages, for dealing with stress, for celebrating the departure of staff and faculty members, for expressing appreciation to a team for supporting a new instructor, for thanking hospital staff for working with students, for introducing new students to the school faculty and the administrators of the hospital, for celebrating the end of the term, for celebrating various graduation events, for rewarding a student who participated in a school project, for Christmas gifts, as the impetus for exchanging recipes with colleagues, and as a reason for dieting.

Food was seen as a lubricant for facilitating smooth colleague-colleague or faculty-student relationships. Initially, the investigator was struck by the number of times she arrived in the lounge or the meeting room to find some kind of goodie on display. For example, at the coffee break of the first team meeting of the term, three homemade desserts were served to first-year team members.

Conversation often revolved around food. For example, the best buys in bulk food were discussed. Recipes were frequently talked about and exchanged among faculty members and staff and were often posted on the bulletin board in the faculty lounge. During one meeting two duplicated recipes were distributed to every member including the investigator. One team celebrated each team member's birthday with a cake.

Food became the reason for faculty getting together in groups after work. Some faculty members met during the summer to can peaches and prior to Christmas to prepare poppycock and antipasto for gifts. Baking for Christmas was discussed by several instructors, one of whom brought in a sample of Norwegian cake she had served at Christmas. One faculty member who was taking a course on bread-making brought in samples of bread for her colleagues to taste. During one lunch hour, there was considerable discussion about how to make cabbage rolls. At another break, one instructor talked about making 600 perogies over the weekend. At another time, the preparing of pastry from pig's fat from a colleague's farm, the making of both homemade pasta and yogurt, and the buying of fresh sausages from a local farmer were discussed by four different instructors.

During the dialogues, when the investigator asked the participants about the meaning of this emphasis on food, they replied:

> Odile: Like its a facilitator, almost communication, socializing, everything from the organizing of it to the eating of it.

Thérèse: Maybe work, and the people here [are] a large part of people's social life and so they don't see it as an imposition because they are bringing food for their friends.

Simone: I think that here it represents being social, bringing the group together, you eat together, you're friends, you break bread ... we are all really good pals, we get along so well.

Martine: Well, I think [for] women ... [it is a way of] establishing camaraderie.

Janine: As far as having any great significance the food ... it's a way of taking a few minutes out to do something that people enjoy and relax over.... It is a way of coping with stress.

Cecile: The underlying reason for suggesting a drink or lunch or a breakfast meeting.... It is more informal and if everybody made the effort of going and sitting beside someone that they didn't spend much time with, that maybe they would feel a little bit more comfortable with that person and, therefore, be able to express some feelings about working with them or be comfortable in giving constructive feedback.

Social Events as Integrators

Food and social events blended together and complemented each other. From the time the investigator started her field work, she found that instructors were involved in many social events, some of which were informally considered mandatory while others seemed to be optional; some were directly related to the students while other events were faculty related. For example, there were baby showers, a shower for an instructor who was getting married, parties for those faculty/staff who were leaving, a "roast" for an administrator who resigned, a coffee party for students who had worked there during the summer, and coffee parties for two other people who had resigned. Other events were potluck suppers for the various teams, a faculty-student barbecue, a volleyball tournament, a Halloween party, a Valentine's Day party, numerous student-faculty events leading up to graduation, several functions to celebrate the Christmas season, as well as coffee parties or teas for the hospital staff who helped with the nursing program and end-of-term parties for the entire faculty and staff as well as separate functions for each team.

During the 12-month period the investigator was in the school, there were some 55 social events. Although these events were not mandatory for all instructors, and some were limited to particular teams, nevertheless the faculty were expected to attend a large number of events, often after work hours.

Comments from three participants who attempted to explain the meaning of this category were:

Janine: The year I started ... we had a potluck supper or some kind of a get-together among the first-year faculty. The stress level was really, really high ... we had a social thing about once a month. It seemed to be a time when we could have a laugh, we tried to minimize the work or the shop talk ... to appreciate people as people, not just as a teaching partner ... it's a way of sharing something with other people in the group ... I think it's a socialization

> ... to help try and reduce the stress somewhat to get to know each other better.
>
> Cecile: Well ... the social events that occur here bring the faculty closer together.
>
> Odile: The reason that social events are planned is an attempt to help establish happy relationships amongst faculty ... that socially doing things together is seen as a way ... of being ourselves, getting to know people.... Certainly ... that's one of the things on the agenda at the retreat every year and ... from my perspective that gets fostered.

Support Mechanisms as Essential

Food and social events acted as mechanisms for promoting social interaction as did support mechanisms, the next category to be discussed. Support mechanisms evolved as another category that characterized the school. It was not unusual for a faculty member to ask for support from her colleagues. For example, during one team meeting, the coordinator, after talking about how the stress level of faculty increased as the year progressed, added, "We need each other's support." Another coordinator thanked all the team members for their "support and assistance" when the team was short one member. She also discussed methods for coping with the "minimal support" accorded instructors during the supervision of students on the hospital units. At one team meeting when a coordinator announced that she had agreed, at the request of the students, not to post certain examination results, she asked for team support on this decision. All new instructors were assigned a "buddy"—a supportive person who would help to orient them to the school. These buddies helped them prepare lectures, attended their classes, and aided them with any problems they experienced in the clinical areas. Also, senior students in the preceptorship experience were "buddied" with hospital nursing staff members.

The coordinators often demonstrated support by validating marks on papers, helping with evaluations, and generally aiding new instructors. A more seasoned instructor requested that the coordinator mark her papers to give her feedback (support) on her marking ability. A new instructor brought home-baked cookies in to thank the team for their support. Comments made to support an instructor when she was receiving feedback on her class were: "great examples"; "enjoyed the class"; "a capital job"; and, when one team was reviewing the year's progress, "I think we did well."

Support was given to mothers when their children were sick. On two occasions the teaching schedules were changed to allow mothers to attend to their sick children at home. The emphasis on support carried over to the students. For example, one faculty member contended that during a senior rotation when the students were relatively autonomous and received little faculty supervision, the students "mainly wanted support." The male nursing students were paired together for support.

When the investigator asked about the need for support in the work situation during interviews with the key participants, they all readily agreed that if they did not have at least one supportive colleague at work, they would

feel "isolated." Simone told the investigator about a new faculty member who felt alienated from the other instructors on her team; this instructor "hasn't found very much of that support at all ... and is finding it quite difficult.... I know she feels quite out of place in any social event or meeting where the whole group is together."

As Simone explained: "If you play the game [ask for help], then they support you too." However, there is evidence that she failed to follow this creed in her comment that she "[had] probably alienated the instructors from [her specialty area]; I really don't have any support at all." Because she had other school colleagues who were supportive, she did not find this situation devastating.

Janine commented that

> as a faculty we sort of strive to develop more than just working relationship[s] but, to a certain extent, personal [relationships] or friendships that ... don't necessarily go beyond the work setting but at least at work people are friendly with each other.

She added that "some people find their support from their students. I think that's an important aspect as well, but I don't think you can always rely solely on the students."

Martine described the small supportive groups that formed within the faculty as a "very informal thing." There were people that she felt close to philosophically: "I do rely on them for support, but I don't think it's a formal thing." When Cecile joined this faculty she said the "atmosphere was calm, relaxing and ... people were very supportive." Odile agreed there was the "opportunity to build supportive relationships at all the social functions but she indicated there was a "fair amount of 'cliquishness' at these events." Thérèse reported that at meetings faculty needed supportive feedback about their teaching.

Meetings as Cohesion Builders

Just as supportive relationships were crucial for the nurse educators, meetings, the next category to be discussed, also acted as cohesion-building mechanisms. "Correlation" meetings were the major mechanism for getting the school's work done. Although these meetings were mainly used as mechanisms for sharing curriculum information, they also had other unwritten objectives. For all teams, correlation meetings were held twice a month and usually lasted between 90 minutes and two hours. The general format of these meetings consisted of instructors giving feedback on classes they had conducted the previous two weeks, highlighting areas well done and suggesting changes where appropriate. At this time, team members responded with comments, especially if they had attended these classes. It was common practice for faculty members to attend each other's classes. Often instructors brought verbal feedback from student groups. When instructors distributed written evaluation forms, these were reported in summary form.

Feedback sessions were followed by correlation. During this part of the meetings, the group of instructors who were presenting classes in the following two weeks would give a summary of their presentations. This summary

included instructions for other faculty members who may be teaching some of this content in small groups, during laboratory exercises, or on the hospital units. Handouts, considerable in number, were circulated. These summary presentations always stimulated comments and questions by team members. The investigator's field notes indicated that the participation rate was high. For example, at one first-year meeting all but two instructors commented. At two third-year meetings, nine and seven instructors respectively made comments out of a total of nine team members. At two separate second-year meetings, all but two of the 13 team members participated in the discussion.

When the investigator asked the five key participants whose duties called for attendance at correlation meetings to explain these events, they replied:

> Martine: On the surface it is informing instructors who don't necessarily attend the classes themselves, what exactly is being taught ... to make sure that we are all touting the same party line.
>
> Thérèse: When we discussed what was taught last week and how did the class go, usually there are general comments, what did the students have to say, do we need to make changes in it for next year—it is easier to do at the time because six months later ... it is long forgotten and so that kind of evaluation ... is more meaningful and then many of the faculty members go to some classes ... so they will comment also.
>
> Janine: It's done to keep everybody informed of what is being taught, different strategies that are being used in presenting that material to the students ... what types of strategies have either worked well or are being planned to be used.... It was hoped that it would promote consistency among faculty. If you know what has been taught in class, then you can check to see how students are performing as compared to what was taught.
>
> Cecile: We do that because we need the feedback from the past lecture that we have given as to how to improve and what the students need a bit more of or we need some positive feedback too if we did a good job.... It allows the instructor, who doesn't necessarily attend the lecture, to decide whether they should attend the lecture or prepare themselves in some way for the content so that they can work with the students.
>
> Simone: It was originally set up in order to get feedback on faculty to improve but I think now it's just disintegrating to giving information, because the comments made, usually someone will say "the class went well. I need more or less time."

Three key informants concurred when the investigator suggested that correlation meetings served as integrating mechanisms, along with food and social events. The other three informants were not queried about this phenomenon.

Do the above data suggest that in a women-dominated organization a distinct view of the world emerges in the workplace? How does this relate to the research literature?

Conceptualizing the Female World

Because women, for the most part, have been ignored in the research literature, conceptualizing the female world is difficult. One term that attempts to

conceptualize the female world is "women's sphere." This term can be traced back at least as far as 1792 when Wollstonecroft (1891, p. vii) suggested this was a "separate" sphere that had about it a sense of "roundness," an enclosure that was "cozy, protected, safe" (Bernard, 1981, pp. 80-81).

The ideology of women's sphere helped to support the belief that women were not intrinsically inferior to men but their sphere had to be kept in a subordinate position in the interests of the national welfare (Bernard, 1981, p. 91). The work carried on in women's sphere also had a major contribution to make to society in the running of households and the raising of children. Women's sphere was a place for nurturance against the outside world and was responsible for transmitting moral standards to society. It was believed that the home, along with moral and charitable activities, was "the natural, normal and only concern of women's sphere" (Bernard, 1981, p. 91).

In the 1830s, "nursing was seen as an innate and loving responsibility of women and mothers"(O'Brien, 1987, p. 12). Home was supposed to be a place of cheer and comfort with women as the major comforters:

> One of the most important functions of woman as comforter was her role as nurse.... The sickroom called for the exercise of higher qualities of patience, mercy and gentleness as well as for her housewifely arts. She could thus fulfil her dual feminine function—beauty and usefulness. (Welter, 1966, p. 163)

Nursing, a women-dominated profession, clearly reflects this conceptualization of women's sphere. According to O'Brien (1987):

> Nursing was still very much a domestic art in the mid-nineteenth century. To practice it in the home was to fulfil the calling of "true womanhood." To practice it for a wage kept one within the domestic sphere, a world where the only pertinent analogy was to the "chambermaids." (p. 14)

Around this time (1860s), the "new" profession of nursing was established in England by Florence Nightingale who insisted that women from the upper classes could make a respectable career out of nursing. In order to fit the Victorian era's expectations of women, Nightingale "encouraged the myth that women's [nurse's] work outside the home was not considered 'real work' but merely an extension of home work" (Seymer, 1960 cited in Coburn, 1974, p. 156). This image of nursing was transmitted to North America (O'Brien, 1987, p. 16).

The ideology of women's sphere was not easy to put into practice for women or nurses. Although this ideology was a "realm of the heart," "women had to foster the 'bonds of womanhood,' the sisterhood, the support systems that were its essence and made it bearable in a world not always congenial or supportable to women" (Bernard, 1981, p. 91). Because women were prohibited from any significant involvement in the polity or the economy and were excluded from equal partnership with men, women survived by giving emotional sustenance to each other (Bernard, 1981, p. 91).

Participation in women's voluntary organizations was one way of providing this sustenance. According to historians, 19th-century women in Canada and the United States had a strong propensity for cooperating with each other in voluntary organizations (Armeny, 1983, p. 14; Coburn, 1974, p.

133; Shaw, 1957, p. 37-75). "One reason for [the] proliferation of women's groups was the sense of a special female identity, created, or at least intensified, by the gap between men's and women's experiences and responsibilities in an increasingly specialized urban and industrial economy" (Armeny, 1983, p. 14). A common female heritage led to alliances between Canadian nurses and philanthropic women that flourished during the latter half of the 19th century and the early part of the 20th century. One such alliance occurred in the National Council of Women of Canada (National Council), the most important Canadian national women's organization, which was established in 1893 (Cook & Mitchinson, 1976). The Council "staunchy support[ed] the interests of Canadian nurses in war service, as in peacetime" (Shaw, 1957, p. 157). Nurses' alliance with such women's groups was based mainly on the precepts of "a sense of women's solidarity in good works" (Armeny, 1983, p. 33).

As indicated above, nursing developed in concert with the female world. The ideology of women's sphere influenced the development of nursing. In order to try to bridge the gap between the "cult of true womenhood" and the work world of nursing, the fit between nursing and women's special sphere was developed. Nursing was portrayed as merely an extension of women's nurturing role at home along with the passive attributes associated with it.

Characterizing the Female World

A starting point for characterizing the female world is provided by polarities used by male social thinkers to explain the transition from the rural, preindustrial world to the urban, industrial world in the 19th and 20th centuries. These polarities were not based on gender differences and predated the female world conceptualization. Bernard (1981) is able to relate these polarities to both the female and male worlds. For example, in 1861, Maine (Bernard, 1981, p. 24) contrasted societies by distinguishing between those in which relationships were based on status and those in which relationships were based on contract. Relationships that are based on status are characterized by ascription and affectivity. Duties, obligations, and privileges are assigned to certain positions in society. Everybody's needs are taken care of to the best extent possible. Relationships based on contract, however, involve duties, obligations, and privileges that are specified and agreed to by the involved parties (Bernard, 1981, p. 24). The former describes the female world, the latter the male one.

Tönnies (1940, pp. 37-38) described two forms of human will as the basis of all social relationships. The first is "natural will" which is the basis for *Gemeinschaft.* Natural will spontaneously expresses the human's inner wishes and demands and sees affiliation with others as an end in itself. Rational will, the second one and the foundation of *Gesellschaft,* denotes deliberation or calculation of both means and ends, viewing both these conditions as separate. Women's relationships are generally based on natural will while men's relationships are more closely associated with rational will.

Boulding (1969) contrasted the economy with the "integry." The economy is described as a world in which monetary exchange acts as an intermediary in human relationships, a description more akin to the male world. The

integry, strongly associated with the female world, is defined as "that part of the social system which deals with concepts and relationships such as status, identity, community, legitimacy, loyalty, love, trust" (p. 4). Boulding defined the integry as a "distinctive segment of the social system with a dynamics of its own, and strong interactions with other elements of the social system" (p. 4).

Aspects of the Female World

Gemeinschaft. Out of these polarities, Bernard (1981, p. 28) developed two primary characteristics of the female world. The first is the kinship- and locale-based or *Gemeinschaft* nature of the structure of the female world—"the realm of life and work in *Gemeinschaft* is particularly befitting to women: indeed it is even necessary for them" (Tönnies, 1940, p. 186). In 1899, Veblen (1953, p. 21) discussed the gender-related aspects of society by indicating that women still maintained an "archaic view of things" that prevented them from having a direct relation to the industrial society of that time. Seventy-five years later, Scheppele's research supported Veblen's observation by pointing out that the transition from *Gemeinschaft* to *Gesellschaft* generally bypassed women (Scheppele, cited in Bernard, 1981, p. 28). In the movement from the rural to the urban areas, women lost the productive duties they had performed on the farm. This was replaced by a division of labor where the wife became a housewife responsible for the house and children while the husband went out to the world of work. They did not establish relationships with groups of people who were unknown to each other. Instead they lived predominantly in *Gemeinschaft,* where women have always maintained a pivotal role in sustaining relationships among relatives and upholding family traditions that have been the mainstay of *Gemeinschaft* (Scheppele, cited in Bernard, 1981, p. 28). Bernard pointed out that the portrayal of the female world as *Gemeinschaft* rests on "evidence from a respectable research literature which documents ... that the world of women has indeed been a kin- and locale-based world—a world of *Blut-und-Boden* [blood and soil] that performs an integrating function (p. 28)."

The roots of nursing derive from the *Gemeinschaft* orientation. Several authors have indicated that nurses' roles have been strongly associated with the roles of mothers (Apple, 1988, p. 47; Delamonthe, 1988, p. 345; Fagin & Diers, 1984, p. 16; Fitzpatrick, 1977, p. 821; Glass & Brand, 1979, pp. 38-39; MacPhail, 1988, p. 48):

> During the nineteenth century, health institutions borrowed their model from the bourgeois family where the father dominated and performed the role of decision-maker (doctor, administrators), while the mother's expected role consisted of "serving" activities, carrying out the wishes of the father (i.e., nurses)

and patients were relegated to the role of children (Colliere, 1986, p. 103). During the 20th century, Ashley (1977) described the role of hospital nurses as one of caring for the "hospital family" (p. 17). "Like mothers in a household, nurses were responsible for meeting the needs of all members of the hospital family—from patients to physicians" (p. 17). O'Brien (1987) main-

tained that historically nurses' ability to "link home and hospital" (p. 16) was the main source of status and prestige of the profession. Coburn (1974) stated that "the 'ideal lady' transplanted from home to hospital was to show wifely obedience to the doctor [husband and] motherly self-devotion to the patient [child]" (p. 155) while Colliere (1986) contended that nurses' "subordination to others' thought and knowledge, and the duties toward everyone, were the appropriate rules to follow" (p. 102).

Nurses have traditionally been the integrators in the hospital culture. Just as housewives usually occupy the pivotal position around which other family members revolve, nurses are the professionals who remain on the hospital units while other health care personnel move about freely. This results in other health care professionals ascribing to nurses the role of coordinators who are responsible for integrating the various components on health care.

Love-and/or-duty ethos. The second characterizing aspect developed by Bernard to describe the female world is the love-and/or-duty ethos. The integry as described by Boulding (1969, p. 4)) is characterized by the love-and/or-duty ethos. Sorokin (1969, p. 21) in his studies of altruistic love in American society found the integry inhabited almost exclusively by women. Because women are expected to display altruism and compassion in their traditional roles as wives and mothers, choosing a helping profession such as nursing fits the stereotype of the appropriateness of nursing as women's work (Lewin, 1977, p. 88).

The role of mother is based on the love-and/or-duty ethos and plays an important part in shaping the female character (Bernard, 1981, p. 164). The mother is expected to nurture her child out of love-and/or-duty. Another characteristic of the love-and/or-duty ethos is selflessness. Samuels' (1975) review of the literature on working-class women revealed that the predominant values of these women were "duty, sacrifice, repression, denial of self-interest, self-expression and self-gratification" (p. 9), all characteristics of a "good" mother.

"Nurturance, self-sacrifice and mothering" are characteristics commonly associated with nurses (MacPhail, 1988, p. 48). Nursing places great emphasis on "nurturing and mothering" (Wilson, 1971, p. 217). "Womanhood was equated with motherhood ... and mother [was] equated with 'nurse'" (Church & Poirier, 1986, p. 104). According to Roberts and Group (1973, p. 318), nursing pioneers emphasized that hospital work required the "selfless devotion of mother" while Coburn (1974) stated that "nursing the ill ... [was] 'esteemed' as [a] familial labour of love" (p. 155). Nursing was considered merely a supplement to the primary duties of housewife. Low wages and poor working conditions were accepted because nursing work was considered a public service or "labour of love" (Coburn, 1974, p. 155). "Nursing was to be, therefore, a woman's duty not her job. Obligation and love, not the need of work, were to bind the nurse to her patient. Caring was to be an unpaid labour of love" (Reverby, 1987, p. 6).

Although avant-garde women at the turn of the century recognized that the love-and/or-duty ethos was exacting a high price on women, attempting

to change it has proved to be a difficult task. That is, a large proportion of women conform, or at least try to conform, to the requirements of this ethos at whatever the cost. The love-and/or-duty ethos is nonegalitarian, demands a serving role, and expects those following it to be compliant and constantly serving others. "Stroking" best describes the behavior called for in the love-and/or-duty ethos. Stroking refers to "giving, supportive, compliant" (Bernard, 1981, p. 374) behavior such as "showing solidarity, raising the status of others, giving help, rewarding, agreeing, concurring, complying, understanding [and] passively accepting" (p. 502). Nursing epitomizes these "expressive" traits (Coburn, 1974, p. 155; Fagin & Diers, 1984, p. 16; Johnson & Martin, 1958; Roberts, 1983, p. 27; Wilson, 1971, pp. 218-219).

Other aspects of the love-and/or-duty ethos relate to the manner in which women function in organizations. While men's peer relationships, for the most part, have emphasized competition and decision making based on a hierarchical structure (Kalisch & Kalisch, 1982, p. 23), women's relationships have largely been based on the love-and/or-duty ethos. Women in public service administration, according to Neuse's research (1978, p. 440), were less committed to formal hierarchy but instead were more willing to submerge their personal power in hierarchical ranking. Women "were more apt to develop lateral relationships and cross-relationships," than were men according to Ortiz and Marshall (1988, p. 183). Fairholm and Fairholm's research findings (1984) concluded that female school administrators tended to favor tactics such as "coalition building, cooptation, and the use of their personalities" (p. 72) to get the work done. The data on nurse educators supported the Fairholms' findings. Food and social events were used to facilitate relationships among the nurse educators, to "bring faculty closer together" to foster common action.

Charters and Jovick (1981), Fishel and Pottker (1975), and Meskin (1974) found that female principals stressed cooperation in interpersonal relationships that resulted in a nonstructured, participatory style of decision making that encouraged inclusiveness rather than exclusiveness (Kanter, 1977). Women's consistent desire for consensus in decision making was supported by Dumas (1985, p. 98), a nurse.

According to Shakeshaft (1987), several studies have found that "women [were] perceived as being more democratic and participatory than [were] men" (p. 187). For example, Hemphill, Griffiths, and Frederiksen (1962, p. 333) found that female principals involved more teachers at all levels as well as outsiders in their in-basket problems while Hines and Grobman (1956, p. 100), in their self reports of principals, found female principals to be more democratic than male principals. One conclusion of Charters and Jovick's (1981) research was that "more participatory decision making appeared in female-managed schools" (p. 322). The data on the nurse educators indicated that in all three teaching teams, there was a high rate of participation by all team members and decisions were usually made by consensus. This is not to suggest that *all* women are more participatory in this approach to management than *all* men.

The administrative research literature does not identify a need for support or the need for at least one supportive relationship at work as the findings from the study of nurse educators indicated. However, Gilligan's (1982) and Miller's (1976) research suggested that women develop "in a context of attachment and affiliation with others" (p. 83). Therefore, supportive relationships among women may be an important part of the work environment.

Bernard's (1981) and other authors' depictions of the female world suggest that any attempt to characterize this world simply means that "the norms—legal, conventional, moral, whatever—prescribe, permit or at least tolerate this behaviour" in females (p. 30). It does not mean that all female members conform to every item described above because, to date, there are insufficient data from which to develop a comprehensive and unified portrait of the female world (p. 30). "Neither does it imply that all the women in it are angels or saints or loving, serving goddesses, or embodiments of the 'true womanhood' celebrated in women's sphere in the nineteenth century" (p. 504).

All the characteristics described above led Bernard (1981) to conclude that the female world is "an integrating system with as much conceptual validity as say the economy or the polity" (p. 29). Although this integrating system, like other aspects of the female (nursing) world, has not been carefully researched, it is apparent from the above description that it is recognized as a part, perhaps a somewhat invisible part, of society.

Summary, Conclusions, and Implications

In summary, the nursing world has evolved in tandem with the female world exhibiting *Gemeinschaft* and the love-and/or-duty ethos. The four major categories generated from the data exemplified the *Gemeinschaft* nature of the school and the presence of the love-and/or-duty ethos. Nurses have traditionally given sustenance to others—patients, physicians, and family members. The preceding data suggest that for the nurse educators, the categories of food and social events as integrators, support as essential, and meetings as cohesion builders exemplify the ways these women attempted to nourish each other. Food and social events served mainly as facilitators for interaction. Social events, usually accompanied by homemade food, were used to celebrate births, birthdays, and marriages, to mark the beginning and end of the school term, and to express appreciation for assistance given to students.

Support was a word liberally used by all instructors and was readily acknowledged as a necessary ingredient in the school. Being supportive was considered an important aspect of course coordinators' roles. The six key participants agreed they needed at least one supportive colleague at work. These relationships were more than just working relationships; they strove to be friends. The nurse educators valued support and tried, for the most part, to be supportive of each other. Meetings as cohesion builders reflected the emphasis on facilitating the implementation of curriculum content. They also were opportunities for "co-relating." Meetings were used to dispense information, as a method for sharing teaching content and strategies, per-

sonal anecdotes, or food, and as a mechanism for supporting team members. One objective of team meetings was to meld the teams into smoothly functioning units.

In conclusion, the female nurse educators exhibited orientations unique to the organizational and administrative research literature. The school had a distinctive culture that contained features that could be attributed to both the nursing and the female worlds. Examples are the strong need for integration as expressed in constructs such as food and social events, the need for meetings, and the need for support. The case study method provided a rich data source on the world of nurse educators that is exemplified in the participant narratives.

There are several outcomes or recommendations that have implications for organizational and administrative researchers and administrators. Organizational and administrative researchers need to think differently about organizations. Because administrative theory currently reflects a male-oriented world, there is a need for the incorporation of a perspective consistent with the female world so that the theory is truly representative of both women and men.

There needs to be further refinement of the female-world concept and identification of other aspects of this world. This might be accomplished through more intensive studies of women-dominated organizations, for example, girls' schools; women's colleges; hospital, college, and university nursing programs; organizations in which the composition results in a clash of male and female cultures such as elementary schools; and organizations where males dominate such as universities, engineering faculties in particular.

Female culture should be carefully considered by administrators, especially administrators in women-dominated organizations such as nursing and elementary education. For example, administrators need to recognize the dilemmas women face when they have sick family members and develop mechanisms to help them cope with this situation. The emphasis on developing camaraderie among faculty, facilitating effective relationships between faculty and students, and coping with stress through mechanisms such as food and social events need to be given special attention by administrators. Because this research indicated that it was crucial to have at least one supportive relationship at work, mechanisms need to be built into organizations to promote supportive relationships among women. Administrators generally need to recognize the importance accorded relationships by women and develop methods for facilitating relationships in organizations. They also need to recognize that supportive relationships that fail to recognize differences among women and competition may not necessarily be the best strategy for dealing with the realities of the work world.

Perhaps a result of the better integration of the literature on female experiences in organizations, there may be less inclination to give female administrators courses and books on how to be more like male administrators but instead an increased emphasis on changing organizations to better fit the aspirations and values of the female world. In the longer term,

the female perspective may be promoted by administrators as a way to improve the "health" of organizations.

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The Alberta Journal of Educational Research *Vol. XXXVI, No. 4, December 1990, 371-384*

PERSPECTIVES

"Who is Sylvia?" Reflections on Personality, Pedagogy, and Populism: A Review Essay

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Sylvia Ashton-Warner (1908-1984), a New Zealand teacher, created a method of teaching Maori children through her "Key Vocabulary" concept. Such a method was translated to minorities in Australia, Canada, and the United States. A charismatic figure who was adulated as the author of Spinster *(1955) and* Teacher *(1963), hers is a life that illustrates the dynamics between pedagogy and personality.*

> Criticizing Sylvia Ashton-Warner in the 1970s in North America was as unthinkable as criticizing Mother Theresa of Calcutta. (Hood, 1988, p. 214)

> Artists don't get formed, they're born. (Sylvia Ashton-Warner)

In light of Sylvia Ashton-Warner's dismissal of those psychological, familial, and cultural factors usually attributed to the formation of personality, the development of character, and the shaping of life course and career, the biography of New Zealand's most celebrated pedagogue makes for interesting reading. Indeed Hood's (1988) *Sylvia? The Biography of Sylvia Ashton-Warner* is a fascinating study of a remarkable woman. It is not, however, altogether a sympathetic one.

For those who did not live through the excitements of the '60s and early '70s, Ashton-Warner's achievements already have faded into obscurity. Alas, this is one of the perils of populism. For others, myself included, her pedagogy—as absurdly replicated as it was on occasion—was a clarion call to subversion in my Teachers' College in Australia. Like their inventor, we too rather fancifully resisted becoming just another "dreary teacher" in a "bloody profesh" (p. 55) that, in all our youthful brashness, seemed to exemplify the most pedantic and unimaginative aspects of an occupation that promised women little advancement.

Sylvia was born in 1908 in New Zealand, and after a childhood as a student in her mother's classrooms and an apprentice teacher she entered Auckland Teachers' College in 1928. Most of her career was spent teaching Maori elementary children in small and remote schools under her husband, Keith Henderson, the headmaster. Henderson fully supported her efforts in

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developing a new reading method published in five installments in *National Education* (December 1955 to May 1956). "The Maori Infant Room—Organic Reading and the Key Vocabulary" was subsequently recommended in New Zealand Teachers' Colleges and advocated for use elsewhere. Her teaching style was so dramatic and her pedagogy so radical that they inspired imitation and adoption in New Zealand, Australia, Canada, and the United States, particularly by those involved in the teaching of ethnic and racial minorities. Largely unrecognized in her native country, it was not until the 1960s that she was acclaimed as an inspirational and radical classroom practitioner (as distinct from theoretician). A pedagogy rather than an educational philosophy, her work was based on a belief that emotions, spontaneity, and self-expression were essential to create a moral and aesthetic learning ecology.

She became a celebrated novelist when *Spinster* (Ashton-Warner, 1955) was turned into a MGM movie starring Shirley Maclaine, Jack Hawkins, and Lawrence Harvey. A second book *Teacher* (Ashton-Warner, 1963) which expounded her pedagogical views in relation to her classroom experiences and conflicts with officialdom was published by Simon and Schuster. Both books were seen by single women as a vindication of their status in a profession that did little to raise their self-esteem and more generally were popular because of their provocative descriptions of an ordinary embattled classroom teacher contending with the insensitivities and indifference of administrative bureaucrats. The oppression of "the establishment" and "the system," buzzwords several decades ago, was symbolized in oppression by "the department" (of Education) in Ashton-Warner's professional life. Ashton-Warner in 1970 was invited to assist in the founding of an alternative school in Aspen, Colorado, which experiment by the 1980s had proven to be among the most successful of its kind in the country. In 1971-1972, now a widow whose children were grown, she was invited to take up a visiting fellowship at Simon Fraser University where she conducted workshops and courses for elementary teachers-in-training. She died in New Zealand in 1978.

These, then, are the facts but as historians and biographers know facts do not speak for themselves. Most biographers come to their subjects with preconceptions about a historical actor who has left his or her mark on society. Biography, therefore, is a journey into the past written from the vantage points of present insights, and sometimes disadvantaged by these preconceptions. This biography is no exception except in one striking particular.

It appears that Hood's (1988) exploration is as much a vindication of a nation as it is a spotlight on the perils of populism in the life of an extraordinary woman. Throughout the narrative the evidence is carefully compiled to construct an argument that dissects her subject's ambivalent relationship with New Zealand which Ashton-Warner claimed continued to misunderstand and persecute her even as North Americans were recognizing and acclaiming her. One suspects that the motive behind this approach was to answer Ashton-Warner's (1979) *I Passed This Way*, an autobiographical

apologia and vilification of New Zealand. The biographer, it appears, feels personally offended by Sylvia's repudiation of that tiny nation-state—"these little islands in the South Pacific" (p. 64). She is anxious that readers not believe Sylvia's criticisms of her own culture. "I've hated New Zealand so much," she confessed, "I still hate it and I suppose I always will" (p. 158). These bitter words were uttered when her country acclaimed her book *Spinster*. For Sylvia the acclaim had come too late.

In the final analysis Hood has argued her case so compellingly and scrupulously that one is left with the decided impression that Sylvia Ashton-Warner was less misunderstood and unappreciated than she was an individual with a personality that constituted an unrepentant paranoia. Indeed, it is argued that rather than any objective reality the psychological status of Sylvia's personality itself induced a chain of events that contributed to repression of her pedagogical ideas by the New Zealand Education Department. What she perceived as sustained opposition to her ideas she internalized into feelings of "persecution, rejection, and spiritual murder" (p. 246) and transferred these feelings into a persona that was imperious, intolerant, capricious, manipulative, controlling, and altogether unlovely. This is no hagiography.

The fundamental proposition to her reading method was potent and direct! The key vocabulary method was best taught and better learned by using children's vocabulary and by having them create their own primers and lessons out of their experiences. "Pleasant words won't do," she claimed, "respectable words won't do. They must be words organically tied up, organically born from the dynamic life itself. They must be words that are already part of the children's beings" (p. 136). Her method was simple: a daily period of free play (music, dance, drama, and art as the media) followed by reading activities which revolved around homemade books and wall newspapers dictated by the children and printed by the teacher. In short, it was an individualized reading program which in many ways did not break new ground, whereas others (e.g., the "key" vocabulary) did. Her formula too was basic: *"Release the native imagery of a child and use it for working material"* (p. 103) and in relation to the creative subjects she followed this with "Touch the true voice of feeling and it will create its own power, its own pace, its own style, and its own vocabulary" (p. 221). Curiously, neither precept is particularly startling now and neither was it then.

Child-centered pedagogy had already made inroads under the New Zealand Education Department's Dr. C.E. Beeby who promoted the experiments known as Britain's "New Education" (Selleck, 1968) and America's "Progressive Education" (pp. 72-73). He had introduced these ideas through radical administrative and curricular changes and the wide circulation of professional publications. Hood (1988) is correct when she notes that Ashton-Warner's "insights came to the public at a time when the life spirit of the age was saying the same thing in a different way" but fails to develop the reasons for her subject's peculiar contribution. This lack of broad educational perspective weakens the biography although the omission is not really unex-

pected in that biography is the history of an individual's past and only sometimes reflects collective experience.

When Sylvia was formulating her views on the creation of a learning environment in the classroom as distinct from a teaching method (work that had begun in the 1930s only to be affirmed and put into practice much later), New Zealand elementary education no less than elsewhere was in the process of being transformed. Philosophers such as Dewey whose conceptualizations of "organic education" and the experiments at the Chicago Laboratory School were central to the general debate about education for democracies that resounded in the first decades of the 20th century. Cremin (1961) in *The Transformation of the School* comments that organic education's raison d'être was "to preserve the sincerity and unselfconsciousness of emotional life" (p. 149). The last decades of the 19th century had set the stage for such experimentation. Oppenheim had founded The Organic School of Education and had written *The Development of the Child* as early as 1898 whereas Dewey's work on the "whole child," *Experience and Education* (1938), was merely a restatement of earlier views found in *School and Society* (Dewey, 1900) and *The Child and the Curriculum* (Dewey, 1902). Moreover, Henderson experimented with the new ideas and methods at New York's Pratt Institute in the first part of the 20th century with Johnson promoting these principles in her experimental classrooms while writing about the project in *Youth in a World of Men* (Johnson, 1929) and later, *Thirty Years with an Idea* (Johnson, 1939). While there is little indication that Sylvia—being contemptuous of anything American and not being in the least theoretically or intellectually curious—had examined any of these works, she did, however, acknowledge the influence of the British don Sir Herbert Read whose well known ideas culminated in *Education Through Art* (Read, 1943). Sir Herbert met her in 1963 and wrote the introduction to *Spinster*. His praise gave considerable credibility to her work in a country that greatly admired English academics. Nonetheless, while Sylvia may have disclaimed intimate knowledge with many of the ideas of progressive education, she could hardly have failed to absorb them, as they were becoming increasingly integrated into the elementary schools of her country. Moreover she was surely influenced by those 19th-century educational ideas which were part of all Teachers' College curricula in the 1920s. Such educational theorists as Pestalozzi (1894) and Froebel (1895) organized learning activities around ideas of the "organic nature" of learning and centered their pedagogies on the creative arts, object lessons, and sense data. Sylvia herself dallied with Rousseau's (1979) ideas on "natural education" when she was in Auckland. A brief purview of these earlier educators illustrates how these ideas were already part of the kindergarten and infant school movements in Britain and Europe when Sylvia Ashton-Warner was developing her own version. It was, however, her individualistic style of teaching reading to non-English speaking minority children that revitalized such ideas.

If organic education was not a new idea and given that Sylvia was not a particularly successful teacher, we can better understand the Education Department's less than wholehearted response to her work. Arbitrary, given

to volatile altercations, contemptuous of authority figures yet alarmingly authoritarian herself, she was absent from the classroom for long periods of time when subordinates took over the routine and core subjects while she controlled the creative subjects. More surprisingly the children themselves were the ones who remained unimpressed by her schematic imitations of their artwork for their readers and newspapers. Apparently her motto "get down to their level" failed to inspire their enthusiasm (pp. 138-139). While Sylvia claimed that—and there remains further room for speculation with regard to the issue—the Department deliberately ignored and destroyed her reading materials, one might sympathize with the opinions of the bureaucrats in Auckland that to publish official readers from her organic materials with her dramatic illustrations would defeat the whole purpose of the organic method and the key vocabulary. Curiously, Sylvia failed to see the logic of this view. On the other hand it was a loss to the teaching profession that such materials were not published. Whatever the truth of the matter the Education Department was careless in the extreme with materials Sylvia had worked on so lovingly for years and the exchanges between them only served to exacerbate her sense of persecution.

It is scarcely surprising that it was during the 1960s and early 1970s when North Americans, on hearing about her work, visited her school and finally claimed her as a visionary. This was a time of intellectual ferment, bold educational innovation, curricular expansion, and astonishing growth in "alternate" forms of schooling which rejected common wisdom about sequentially graded learning processes, and when liberal and radical critics alike attacked mass schooling. The pool of public monies seemed bottomless; expansion facilities could not balance teacher supply and demand, and the counter culture was at its most militant. The reexamination of orthodox forms of schooling was fuelled by prosperity, protest, and optimism. "Deschoolers" and "alternate schoolers" flourished: Bereiter at OISE (Bereiter, 1973); Holt (1964); Illich (1971); Reimer (1971); and Postman (Postman & Weingartner, 1969) to name only a few. Inquiries into education were producing documents such as Ontario's Hall-Dennis Report (Ontario, 1968) which shaped much of the transformation of the schools in Canada and Alberta (Alberta, 1972) as did the Plowden Report (Great Britain, 1967) in Great Britain. The Sputnik factor contributed to a ruthless critique of schooling in a democratic society in the United States.

Not since the debates surrounding pre-World War I progressive education and education for social reconstruction in the 1930s was there so much controversy about the nature, purpose, and direction of schooling in North America. Sylvia Ashton-Warner symbolized this growing discontent and seemed to articulate the projections and frustrations of many classroom teachers in her idiosyncratic manner and dramatic teaching style. She was recognized during a period when teachers were reasserting a professionalism they felt had been eroded and at a time when economic prosperity allowed them to challenge the hierarchical structures which, they felt, repressed their autonomy and independence. The relevance of principals, inspectors, and traditional pedagogies were in doubt. Therefore, the most ardent of her

devotees were teachers who felt misunderstood by "the system"; those who felt that their creativity was constrained by existing structures; those who taught racial minorities and saw her method as a "quick fix"; and those who opposed basal readers and core curricula on principle in their enthusiasm for spontaneity and liberated emotions. These decades were throbbing with such malcontents whose protestations were directed at centralized and bureaucratized school systems and whose faith in education as a major social change agent was unbounded.

In fact many of Ashton-Warner's admirers quite misunderstood her, although ultimately it was in North America that the dissonance between the views she espoused about liberated pedagogies and her own classroom style became apparent. Liberated they may have been but only if orchestrated by the artist-teacher in conformity to her will. Hood carefully compiles evidence that throughout Ashton-Warner's career there had been an overwhelming craving for adulation and a tendency to exhibitionism. In the classroom she always had to be the star and this had been the inspiration behind her work. While her often ferocious psyche was transmuted in the creative arts it was "Sylvia's own creativity rather than the children's that reigned supreme" (Hood,, 1988, pp. 134-135). The children expressed *her* vision rather than their own.

I would argue, therefore, that the transferability of her ideas remained problematic—something the Education Department recognized when she initially approached it and when its inspectors first discovered her. A method might be translated to other classrooms—although as anyone who works with curriculum understands even this cannot be guaranteed. But to other regions, countries, and cultures? That is quite another matter. *But more to the point Sylvia's work was not really a method at all; rather it was a teaching style.* Without Sylvia it foundered. It was Sylvia who provided the charisma and Sylvia alone. Buber (Cohen, 1983), a philosopher and teacher, is a not dissimilar case as is the case of Neill at Summerhill (Neill, 1960). The disciples never equalled their leaders.

That Sylvia's admirers at Aspen community school in Colorado became her detractors was not unexpected. They had invited her to administer the curriculum, demonstrate her methods, and offer expertise and guidance to their utopian educational vision. But in all respects she was a disaster. In this instance there was no bureaucratic obstructionism. A little homework on the part of those educators who invited her to Aspen might have avoided considerable disillusionment and no little expense. For example, they might have found out that while developing the key vocabulary for Maori youngsters hers was a strictly "*pakeha*" (European) emphasis even as she deplored the "Department's" ethnocentric reading materials. Neither did she see the Maori children's stories as supplementing departmental texts but as leading the way to their integration into the dominant culture (Hood, 1988, p. 137).

It seems too that her interpretation of what constituted experience was always at the emotional and personal rather than cultural level and in this respect she departed from Dewey and many other progressive educators. While descriptions of beatings, drunkenness, hatreds, all colorfully peppered

with obscenities were "experiential," it was not quite to the taste of traditional teachers. While admitting that organic learning was therapeutic they rather doubted that it was at the same time educational. However, her Aspen colleagues were less interested in this philosophical problem than they were in another matter. Sylvia needed unquestioning conformity from the children even as her rhetoric spoke of nonconformity; and more, she needed "obedience and attentiveness for her method to succeed, and she had, in the past, used the strap, the stick, the ruler, or her bare hand to ensure full co-operation" (Hood, 1988, p. 204). In American schools in the 1970s this was barely acceptable and at Aspen it was not acceptable at all. As for school meetings which debated philosophies and teaching methods, for Sylvia "these were a waste of time, and they confirmed her longheld conviction that Americans were undisciplined, garrulous, and arrogant" (p. 203). Yet the school meeting was the focal point around which Aspen revolved. The fact that she brought her prejudices about American culture with her did not escape them although they could not have anticipated her vitriolic and blistering contempt when she wrote her exposé of "the American character" in *Spearpoint* (Ashton-Warner, 1972), an unrestrained and inaccurate account of the Aspen episode.

I recall the tenor of some of the reviews I read of *Spearpoint*; how conservative reviewers delighted in the exaggerations and misinformation contained between its pages. Here, after all, was a celebrated radical educator whose work with underprivileged children of a racial minority from another country had been eminently successful but who was unable to work with middle-class American children. The failure could not be hers but a consequence of the degeneracy of American society, the permissiveness of its childrearing practices, the disintegrations of family life, the shoddiness of progressive education, the disorder of the "new left," and the excesses of individualism. At one and the same time it was a curious situation. Sylvia was being hailed as an advocate of radical and innovative education. She was, ironically, mistaken as being "on the left" by the noisy critics of capitalism when in fact she despised the "masses" as "monstrosities of drooling insanity" (Hood, 1988, p. 131). Sylvia was both artiste and elitist and praised by educational and political conservatives who agreed with her judgments about the American "character." *Spearpoint* cannot be seen as an apologia for her own failures. Sylvia did not admit failure. Rather it was a frontal attack to keep critics at bay. However, this did not daunt her from submitting her personal, literary, and education papers to Boston University so as to publicly reject the National Library of New Zealand's appeals to house them (p. 185).

Having tolerated her incompetence, alcoholism, egoism, and contempt, the Aspen community felt itself well rid of her when she rejected an invitation to develop peace textbooks at the University of Jerusalem Peace School in favor of an invitation to take up a visiting fellowship at Simon Fraser. A full professorship at Simon Fraser seemed an unlikely honor for she had few academic abilities and little interest really in teaching others her methods.

Ashton-Warner's time in Canada, while not untroubled, was comparatively productive. For two years she conducted intimate off-campus workshops and while she was thought to be eccentric and arbitrary her six-week courses called "Mornings with Young Children" were conducted two mornings a week. They simulated a classroom with students required to regress to a five-year-old level. This was something she had been able to do all her life (Hood suggests she was psychologically "fixated") and was a crucial means by which she touched the psyches of children so immediately. A two-year experiment in organic education, the Vancouver Project, which grew out of the workshops was taken into elementary classrooms by nine primary teachers. While not judged as memorable, by its conclusion Professor Ashton-Warner had returned to her native country. Though not remarked on by the biographer, Ashton-Warner's presence at Simon Fraser was less improbable than first impressions suggest. This new Canadian university was the embodiment of an "organic" vision of education in its relationship between informal and formal modes of learning and the connections between university and community. This was evident in its choice of instructors who not only emphasized interdisciplinary programs but also combined the practical with the theoretical. Even its choice of architectural design combined the aesthetic vision with a bold functionality of open interior spatial arrangements. It was a campus where the student body was militant and the presence of a "radical" on the Education Faculty satisfied their demands for instructors who did not represent the traditional academic norms. Her presence, therefore, was consistent with the institution's avant-garde philosophy.

That some discomfort arises from reading Hood's (1988) portrait of Sylvia Ashton-Warner has already been alluded to. Her portrait, so incisive on many counts, nevertheless fails to place Sylvia in a broader sociohistorical context in its use of bold interpretive strokes which psychologizes its subject. This resort to the psychological explanation is disappointing in light of feminist scholarship which points to the systemic discrimination of female pathbreakers in all the professions including the "feminized" ones such as teaching where men manage and women teach. To avoid the seductions of what might be summarized as "the revelations of a personality disorder" we must not forget either the history of female marginalization or the distortions of female personality formation wherever there is endemic sexism and whenever women are compelled to respond and react to cultural biases that stereotype female behavior. Sylvia Ashton-Warner was hardly the first woman, nor will she be the last, to manipulate this climate, resort to deviant strategies, and even depend on alcohol in what amounted to gender-specific responses to sustain a fragile personality and her "art" at the same time.

While it is true that Sylvia's personality and temperament were neither easily contained within nor constrained by the parameters of a male-defined educational system, her life and the biographical genre itself are trivialized by Hood's attempt to minimize the significance of Sylvia's own description of her social order—"THE PERMANENT SOLID BLOCK OF MALE EDUCATIONAL HOSTILITY (p. 158)"—especially given Hood's astute observation

about Sylvia's obsessive demands for male adulation because it was men "who controlled the status heap" (p. 94). None of this can be fully apprehended without placing Sylvia in a patriarchal society whose power defined her as a woman, bestowed credibility on her reputation and work, and chose whether or not to concede the recognition she so desperately craved; and a society where married women were second-class citizens (p. 39) and spinsters, though independent, were stigmatized. Sylvia's dilemma is common to her gender and known by all its members. "No matter which way I wriggled and dodged, I couldn't get clear of teaching. All of which narrowed the crises down to a clear-cut choice: love or freedom," she stated (p. 64).

To be fair to Hood (1988) she does not set out to write a feminist biography or, for that matter, a biography about a feminist (Rooke & Schnell, 1989). Sylvia may have been a strong-minded, individualistic woman, but she did not claim to be feminist at either a conscious or ideological level. This does not mean, however, that she could not have been subject of a feminist biography as distinct from a biography about a singular female. To my mind at least, not placing her into the broader framework of feminist theory or using gender as an analytical tool leaves Sylvia standing alone—a sport of history—whereas had she been so placed in a gender context she could have offered insights with regard to women of her generation and society in a more general sense. Feminist discourse opens new insights and interpretations, whereas psychologizing the historical actor at times reduces her to a pathology. It mechanistically uses a popular shorthand that bypasses the complexities of societal factors so that human personality is seen solely in terms of familial influences and emotional elements.

This reliance on the psychological paradigm exemplifies 20th-century biography. Nineteenth-century biographies concentrated on the view of history as that of great men, whereas under the Freudian shadow many historical worthies have been "put on the couch" so to speak. This biographical approach has not diminished since Strachey's (1918) pioneering efforts when he analyzed historical figures such as Florence Nightingale and Cardinal Manning in his popular *Eminent Victorians*. However, it is in Hood's psychological explanations that the biography is tenuous on occasion. Although the dominant teacher-mother (whose abusive teaching style Sylvia internalized) and the much adored but ineffectual father provide an archetypal backdrop in which the central tensions and paradoxes of her subsequent life are acted out compulsively and in the long run, creatively, this psychodrama is not altogether convincing. For example, much is made of her choice of teaching as a profession and is seen as an "identification with the aggressor" (her mother). Fearing her mother's power, it is suggested, Sylvia assumes the teacher persona to control that power by taking it on herself.

Lortie's *Schoolteacher* (1975) offers less convoluted possibilities for the predominance of females in the teaching profession and why they continue to choose it. Moreover, these operated more forcefully earlier in the century than they do now when career options have increased for women. These include familiarity with the classroom and the security represented by this ongoing familiarity; the psychological reinforcements of the school environ-

ment for bright students whose identity was dependent on academic achievement; the influence of one or more strong-willed female role models; the comfortableness of relating to children which to some is easier than to adults and equals; the need to be in control and exercise unquestioned authority; and finally, perhaps even most importantly, the fact that teaching and family life (i.e., motherhood) are compatible in terms of time, holidays, and emotional involvement (especially in relation to young children). All of these pertain to Sylvia but particularly the last given that she could not imagine life without marriage and motherhood. She had seen her own mother under great stress continue to teach. Instead she found a partner who would take over the bulk of domestic and parenting duties. But do we need to go any further than to comprehend how few career choices there were for women in New Zealand in the 1920s? At this time career choices were both gender-restricted and gender-specific—nursing, teaching, and secretarial work being the common alternatives. One cannot suppose that either the constraints of gender or of social class did not operate any less in Sylvia's case.

However, even the traumas of childhood and the relationships between the girl-child and her parents might have been illumined by feminist analyses of object-relations and gender formation in families, particularly in light of the mother-daughter dynamics expounded by Chodorow in *The Reproduction of Mothering* (1978). This would have been more useful than the transference of the Electra complex into classical psychological metaphors and primordial reenactments with Mother and the Almighty (Hood, 1988, p. 124).

It is when one considers feminist approaches to biographical materials that the parallels in apparently different experiences can be illumined and contrasted. For instance, the similarities between Hood's subject and my own biographical subject are more striking than otherwise despite the one being a New Zealander and the other a Canadian. Of course, both were the products of Anglophile nations with strong colonial connections and elitist sensibilities. *No Bleeding Heart: Charlotte Whitton a Feminist on the Right* (Rooke, 1987) argues its case around two ideas which are pertinent to Sylvia: the concept of "the woman-identified-woman" as distinct from "the man-identified woman"; and the centrality of marital status in the lives of earlier generations of professional women. Both were gendered artifacts of a homosexist culture that divided and conquered women by the coercive psychology of "real status" whose symbol was summed up in the question, "Has she got a boy?" (p. 50).

Ashton-Warner and Whitton retained an intense emotional identification with their own sex." If would appear that Whitton by living in close companionship for 30 years with a woman and associating in a feminized occupation (social welfare) with women who were both colleagues and friends would represent more obviously the "woman-identified-woman" than the married Sylvia. Yet this was not unequivocally the case. Like Whitton, Sylvia before marriage was influenced by strong celibate women who epitomized the Victorian and Edwardian ideal of "chastity as power" in a time when marriage and career were rarely possible (Rooke & Schnell, 1985). In those instances

where they were possible, career advancement for women was impeded by marriage. Because of the tensions created by the compromise involved in marriage Sylvia was unable to diffuse her fascination with "spinsters or her erotically intense but genetically forbidden relationships with her own sex." These attachments were necessary because they provided her with emotional and professional sustenance which Keith Henderson for all his supportiveness could not supply enough.

Both women exhibited that "romantic" sensibility of same-sex love which had inspired and supported women before Freudian psychosexual theories eroded the former support systems and human relations were redefined under an aggressive heterosocial and heterosexual hegemony. Faderman, *Surpassing the Love of Men* (1981), is just one historian who has recorded this. The new climate, which impeded the progress of women in the public sphere while accommodating to changing economic realities and voting patterns, increased the male-identification of wives where all emotional and romantic needs were to be met in the ideal of "the couple." This vociferous psychologizing and "normalizing" of human relations effectively neutralized women whether they remained single by accident or by choice or whether they married and were expected to forsake career altogether or subordinate it to the male "breadwinner" role. The differences between the accommodations or the resistance are less important to women's collective past experience than the male-created boundaries which defined women as a sex.

In Sylvia's case, her continued fascination with spinster-professionals—"these unmarried, free, untrammelled people whose lives belong to no man and who dedicate themselves to their work" (p. 53) echoed a commonplace sensibility from the previous century. Whitton, at various points in her own careers, articulated identical sentiments to those Sylvia expressed about her profession. "I wouldn't mind putting it to you," Sylvia wrote in her autobiography, "that senior women teachers should be required to be celibate, like priests, and that's a good analogy" (p. 66). Family life dissipated one's energies and interfered with total immersion in one's art. Sylvia struggled for the duration of her marriage with a tension experienced by many artistic, capable, ambitious, and independent married women. She answered to the sensual and emotional needs of her own nature which required marriage to legitimate her by providing definition, support, security, and credibility. It seems logically the case, therefore, that if "senior" female teachers ought to remain celibate, then married female teachers, like herself, ought to remain subordinates in the school system. As a married woman she could remain in teaching because she worked in remote two-room schoolhouses as the subordinate partner in a teaching "couple."

Further, the male-ordered world that legitimated women as married and mothers, or stigmatized them as single and nonmothers, punished both Whitton and Ashton-Warner for their nonconformity as women. Both reacted to the prevailing gender-role assigned them in exhibitionism, aggression, the demand for recognition, frustration, hostility, bullying, a sense of persecution (not altogether unjustified), and passionate outbursts. Their particular responses are not as significant as the fact that these represented

those binary oppositions that the female gender role prescribes: the one did not submit to the circumscribed nature of the social construction in the interest of career; the other was fraught with ambivalence about relegating her own needs to a secondary status. Whitton chose singleness, which in those days meant celibacy, but her female companion assumed a similar role as Keith Henderson did in Sylvia's life. This represented an adaptation of marital gender roles whereas Sylvia reversed marital norms. Both women operated in a phallocentric ethos as if they were males with their partners assuming the conventional "female" gender roles. There are indeed many similarities in two such unlikely lives.

At 23 years of age Sylvia probably forced a marriage to "a man called Keith Henderson, a wedding ring on my finger to show the girls, and a white wedding dress with a veil" (p. 60). She confessed that ambition, autonomy, and even art itself "vaporised before the white picture," a grim reminder that in Sylvia's marriage-compulsion and Whitton's marriage-resistance men are not required to make the same choices, that men's careers are not curtailed if they marry. Neither are their identities atrophied. Nowhere has this dilemma been so eloquently and passionately pursued than by Virginia Woolf in 1928 when her fictional heroine, Orlando, cries out, "Life! A Lover! Not Life! A Husband" (Woolf, 1928, p. 152) At the same time she is overcome by an inexplicable tumult as she observes that "wedding rings abound.... Wedding rings were everywhere ... gold, or pinchback, thin, thick, plain, smooth" (p. 151). She is obsessed by the sight of couples "indissolubly linked together." Her ruminations

> were accompanied by such a tingling and twangling of the afflicted finger that she could scarcely keep her ideas in order.... Though the seat of her trouble seemed to be the left hand, she could feel herself poisoned through and through, and was forced at length to consider the most desperate of remedies, which was to yield completely and submissively to the spirit of the age, and take a husband. (p. 151)

Sylvia is not a woman alone. She is no sport of history. She shares the crisis and paradox of being female in a male world. Fictional and real women share her dilemma whether they are represented by Kate Chopin's suicidal heroine, Sylvia Plath's longing for annihilation, or Woolf's anorexia and madness, the meaninglessness of Emma Bovary's domesticity, the adulterous passion of Anna Karenina, the ordinary suburban housewife's depressions, Kate Millet's dependence on valium, or the door that was slammed shut by Ibsen's Nora. These—to name only a few—expose something deeper in women's restlessness than androcentric psychological constructs would have us believe. If Sylvia's personality was disordered, if Sylvia was both *poseur* and imposter, if Sylvia was egocentric, vain, possessive, and demanding—then she shares a "pathology" that has inspired powerful fiction and some of the saddest and wasted lives ever lived by less heroic women. Psychology, in the final analysis, does not deal effectively with the existential paradox of women's experience, and this is where an analysis of the pressures of heterosexism, patriarchy, and misogyny can regenerate traditional ap-

proaches to biography and add to rather than detract from present knowledge.

Hood asks of Sylvia's life, "How could she reconcile the man-loving woman she wanted to be with the woman-loving artist who possessed her?" She could not—any more than any of Greer's (1970) contingent of "female eunuchs" are able to. On the other hand, if marriage for Sylvia was the stage on which she acted out a crisis between "love and freedom," it was also a theater she manipulated with consummate artistry so that it did not suppress her creativity. Indeed it facilitated her work. Ironically it was marriage that freed her even as it was resistance to it that freed Whitton.

Nevertheless, some might consider her choice a conventional and even timid one. I am, for instance, reminded of similar ambiguity and tension contained in Dorothy Sayers' (1936) novels and so rigorously analyzed by Leonardi in *Dangerous by Degrees: Women at Oxford and the Somerville College Novelists* (1989). Sayers' and Sylvia's writings are explosive with a sexual tension so close to the surface it is barely concealed in their transmuted and acceptable heterosexual adaptations, suppression of darker emotions, and denial of the positive aspects of same-sex sociosexual experience. Both women identified poignantly and desperately with that heterosexist climate that shaped their craving for acceptance. Both women's struggles with their contradictions and conformities resulted in bursts of creativity and inspiration. Despite evidence of an imaginative sublimation, it is not possible entirely to agree with the assertion that when Sylvia married "she carved out a freedom that was probably greater than any other lifestyle could ever have provided" (p. 64). A freedom it may have been, but one of great emotional cost and ultimately personal loss. In the first instance alone, dreams of Paris and travel were compressed and whittled down to an isolated and rude parochialism that was best represented in the comment, "to hear it whispered of someone we knew, 'They've gone Maori teaching' was to hear their doom and register the professional stigma on us all" (p. 73). Sylvia did not travel until Keith died and she was 61. Meanwhile, Keith "countered the eroding helplessness of his Sylvia-dominated existence" (p. 86). It was in some ways a bitter freedom.

To Hood, a perceptive and sensitive biographer, the ongoing struggle between love and freedom is an archetypal one ultimately mirrored in the conflict between the artist and her milieu. To a feminist the ongoing struggle between love and freedom is an inevitable and irreconcilable psychic conflict exemplified by Sylvia as a woman exiled and alienated from herself in a patriarchal social order that tried to make her in its own image. In this context we can add to Hood's germane and intelligent account and open up new ways of answering the question I found myself asking throughout—"Who is Sylvia?"

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Volume 3, No. 1-2, 1988.
ISSN 0726-416X

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